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Abstract:

This thesis seeks to reposition sport as a subject of analysis in ‘global historical’ processes. It examines the diffusion of cricket in the British Empire, its appropriation by the colonies and the subsequent commercialization of the sport. It asks the question: *How did an elite English sport come to be one controlled by a former colony-India?* With this as the substantive question, it seeks to infer theoretical insights about the nature of global processes and cultural transfers in the 20th century. By way of conclusion, it asserts that as a result of these global processes there would be a tangible shift in the ‘cultural economy’ of sports from the developed nations of the west to the developing nations.

Diese Masterarbeit versucht, Sport als einen Gegenstand der Analyse in ‚globalhistorischen‘ Prozessen neu zu positionieren. Die Arbeit untersucht die Ausbreitung von Cricket im Britischen Empire, die Aneignung durch die Kolonien und die darauffolgende Kommerzialisierung dieses Sports. Es wird die Frage gestellt: *Wie wurde eine elitäre englische Sportart zu einer, die von einer ehemaligen Kolonie – Indien – beherrscht wird?* Anhand dieses Themas wird versucht, theoretische Einblicke in die Natur globaler Prozesse und kultureller Transfers im 20. Jahrhundert zu gewinnen. Zusammenfassend ist festzustellen, dass als Ergebnis dieser globalen Prozesse eine spürbare Verlagerung in der ‚kulturellen Ökonomie‘ von Sportarten von den entwickelten Nationen des Westens hin zu den Entwicklungsländern stattfindet.

1. Introduction

What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?
-CLR James, *Beyond A Boundary*¹

This is the question that CLR James poses to the reader at the beginning of his maverick examination of Caribbean society through the lens of cricket. The answer he says requires ‘ideas and facts’. The ‘ideas’ that James is talking about is presumably his own political persuasion, that becomes clearer a little way into the book. James was a radical leader of the Black Power movement in the 50’s and the 60’s, and a critic of the capitalist system. James brilliance lay in how he took an outwardly innocent form of recreation, i.e. cricket, and used it for a trenchant critique of colonialism and capitalism.

There is a taunt inherent in the question addressed to the British colonizers who brought the game to the Caribbean. The book was written at a time when the West Indies, a collective team representing the islands of Jamaica, Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, were dominant in world cricket. James saw cricket as more than a game, he saw it as a platform for political struggle. While we shall return to James and West Indian cricketers later, they did one important thing which was to point out that cricket was no longer the preserve of the English colonialists.

The other dimension of James’ taunt is that his book *Beyond A Boundary* is probably the first and most significant analysis of the relation between cricket and society. James considers it a ‘grievous scandal’² that academics and scholars world over have neglected the importance of cricket in the interactions between the colonizer and

¹ C.L.R James: *Beyond A Boundary*, Yellow Jersey Press, London, 2005, Preface

² Ibid, p 153

the colonized. Aside from being a remarkably written and a highly original piece of social commentary, James work, in my modest opinion, is also a significant instance of what Dipesh Chakrabarty calls ‘returning the gaze’³ i.e. returning the gaze of western science by making the colonizer a subject of inquiry from the colonized.

This decolonization of cricket provides the point of departure for my thesis. Cricket, which spread with the British Empire and was a preserve of the British elite classes, is a sport run today by Indian finances and political clout. This Indianization of cricket over the 20th century provides for an interesting example where the rise of non-western power has completely subordinated a cultural form to its own benefit, to the extent that led one writer to proclaim that ‘cricket is an Indian game accidentally discovered by the English’⁴. The substantive question that I am asking in this thesis is- how did an elite English sport come to be one that is today controlled by a former colony-India? In answering this question I intend to address a number of theoretical issues concerning the processes of globalization and cultural exchange in the 20th century.

Sports and Global Processes

Literature of world history and global processes often tends to ignore or underwrite the role of sport in world history. This thesis is part of an attempt to restore the importance of sports research in academia. Most such research tends to get classified under sports and games. Indeed, some of the most relevant books on the topic that I research were available only in the ‘Sports-sciences library’, which seems to have been added as an afterthought to the Sports University in Vienna. On the contrary, I would argue that sports are relevant beyond being mere ‘past-time’. Leisure studies have

³ Dipesh Chakrabarty: *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton University press, Princeton, 2007, p29

⁴ Ashis Nandy, *The Tao of Cricket*, Oxford University Press India, New Delhi, 200, p1

recently found favour within academia for being central to social make-up and hence an important subject of analysis. In the same vein, studying sports is about studying cultural diffusion, hegemony, assimilation and adaptation, discursive and disciplinarian practices, education, nationalism, ethnicity, and more recently media, and the late capitalistic economy.

The development and diffusion of global sports is bound in global processes. This starts from the time of industrial modernization, considered to be the take-off phase of modern sports⁵, when rules and regulations for sports were formalized, leagues set-up and a calendar of competitions was drawn up. This went hand in hand with the industrialization process in Britain. The work demands of the Industrial Revolution produced changes in the patterns of work and leisure. Industrialists too came to realize the utilitarian purpose of sport as a means of controlling labour, leading to legislations against violent sports and the promotion of ‘civilized’ forms of sport such as cricket⁶. At the same time sports are a motor of change. The association of sports with television has changed the face of broadcasting worldwide. Increased real income and leisure time stimulated a demand for commercialized spectator sport⁷. Sporting events became more formalized, with their own governing bodies and sponsors. Subsequently, a whole economy has been set up around the manufacturing and marketing of sporting goods. Further, the inherent symbolism of sports, the duality of winning and losing combined with the physicality of competition, have meant that sports are interpreted as representing the strength or weakness of nations and societies. In a world where national

⁵ Wray Vamplew, *Sport and Industrialization: An Economic Interpretation of the Changes in Popular Sport in Nineteenth Century England*, in J.A Mangan (ed) *Pleasure, Profit and Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914*, Frank Cass, London, 1988, p7

⁶ Ibid p11

⁷ Ibid p17

differences are fast becoming subsumed by globalization, one sees new expressions of nations and nationalism through sport,.

Sports have been increasingly visible in the last quarter of the 20th century, especially with their growing association with the media. They have increasingly been hailed as ‘unifiers’, where people of different backgrounds, nationalities or ethnicities could partake in competition without any differences. A 2005 U.N inter-agency task force report entitled *Sports for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals* states:

“The world of sports presents a natural partnership for the United Nations system. By its very nature sports is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides...Sport can cut across barriers that divide societies, making it a powerful tool to support conflict prevention and peace building efforts, both symbolically on the global level and very practically within communities. When applied effectively, sports programs promote social integration and foster tolerance, helping to reduce tension and foster dialogue. The convening power of sport makes it an additionally compelling tool of advocacy and communications”⁸.

While this assumption is true to the extent that sports do serve as a global idiom that everyone can understand, one can question the fact whether they serve as unifiers. This thesis would question this assumption by looking at whether cricket serves to unify the former colonies in a common bond, as indeed the imperialists who aided the diffusion of the game hoped it would, or if it led to new expressions of local identities.

Miller et al refer to sports as ‘so central to contemporary moment’s blend of transnational cultural industrialization and textualization that it does more than reflect the global- sport is big enough to modify our very use of the term ‘globalization’”⁹.

According to them as sports professionalize and internationalize ‘their commodification

⁸ Quoted in Maguire, *Power and Global Sports: Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance*, Routledge, London, 2005 p2

⁹ Miller et al, *Globalization and Sport: Playing the World*, Sage, London, 2001, p1

and bureaucratization become central if we are to understand profound changes in national culture'¹⁰. Global sports, by which I mean sport forms that have internationalized and commercialized to a degree that there is a global economy operating in association with them, are hence one of the most important cultural legacies of the 20th century. Analyzing changes and developments within global sports means analyzing profound processes of change within the global political economy of the 20th century.

Why Cricket?

Cricket began to be played in Southern England in the 16th century, and by the end of the 20th century was a mass sport with a global following. Cricket traveled with the British Empire, being played by soldiers and officers in reaches of the empire as far as the Caribbean and Australia. What followed was a process where an elite English game was appropriated by the colonized 'natives', and incorporated into their own cultural worlds.

The state of cricket in today's world is best expressed by noted cricket writer Gideon Haigh who recently remarked: "it is no longer correct to speak of the 'globalisation' of cricket, we face the 'Indianisation' of cricket, where nothing India resists will occur, and everything it approves of will prevail."¹¹. This represents a remarkable transformation: a game that was hardly played by the millions that inhabited the British colonial territories in the mid-19th century, less than a century later turned out to be the most popular sport in these erstwhile-colonies, followed with a passion that is in stark contrast with the popularity of cricket in England, the county where it originated.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ *Cricket Lovely Cricket*, in The Economist-Special Report on The Business of Sport, August 2nd 2008, p13

This development is also in contrast to all other forms of global sports and cultural industries, which are overwhelmingly controlled by western countries. Although, through their sheer numbers the third-world countries have increasing influence in global sports, for example in international sporting organizations like FIFA, *power* within global sports, i.e. control of the financial and media structures of sport lies primarily with the western countries. In this context, cricket is a unique game whose power center currently lies in India. This, in my modest opinion, is not an anomaly, but something that may soon be reflected in most major global sports. While the immediate reasons lie in the logic of global capitalism, the grain for this change lay in the diffusion of sporting forms during the British imperial era.

The thesis looks at the arrival, growth and advance of cricket in the colonies of Britain. It seeks to understand the political and social environment under which cricket prospered and grew in these places, and how it came to be an important social, political and economic force in these places. The purpose of the thesis is to relate cricket with the larger social, economic and political context in which it is played and to see what this tells us about the process of globalization over the past century. In the study of the political, economic and social aspects related to the playing of cricket, major trends accompanying globalization over the last century become evident. This thesis aims to examine how the sport dominant trends within 20th century globalization interacted with and influenced cricket, and vice versa.

The emergence of this alternative centre of power in cricket is the result of a variety of factors related directly to the process of ‘globalization’ over the last century. In many ways it represents one of the on-going shift in the centre of the global economy

from the developed countries to the emerging nations of the third world. This includes, amongst others, changes in technology, rise of nationalisms, development of a trans-national community that can support its team across borders and the loss of popularity of cricket to other sports such as football and motor-racing in the country of its origin. This thesis is essentially about ‘decolonization’ of cricket: how an elite English game became truly a ‘native’ sport?

The thesis would naturally have the former British Empire as its unit of analysis. The current highest league of competition-the Test playing nations-is composed exclusively of former colonies: India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Caribbean, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Kenya and Zimbabwe. The USA and Canada, which were also part of the empire, have very little participation in cricket. The thesis would look at how cricket spread to these areas, and how it interacted with social and political structures that were pre-existing and those that were created during colonialism.

The 20th century will, more or less, serve as the time frame for the research. This is the period in which one can trace the transformation of cricket from a rural past-time, to a multi-billion dollar sport with a mass following worldwide. It was not until the late 19th century that the game was ‘modernised’ i.e. its rules and regulations codified and organizational structure formalized. The 20th century was the era when sporting forms became globalized, with formal, regular competition and global playing structure. In addition, one also sees high degree of commercial investment into sports, as well as sports closer connections between sports and various forms of media. The process of decolonization also that started halfway through the 20th century, and arguably continues to this day, also makes it interesting to study the development of cricket during this period.

Literature Review

Cricket is a sport with an overwhelming amount of literature dedicated to it. Since it rose to popularity during the Victoria era, there is a plethora of books romanticizing the game. These works of literature are both well-written and serve to locate the game within the consciousness of late 19th century England. Most significant amongst these are the works of legendary cricket writer Neville Cardus, as well as popular public figures like historian Cecil Headlam¹².

However, aside from literary works and statistical data on matches, there was a profound lack of works dealing with sport as a subject of scientific or social analysis up until the last quarter of the 20th century. This is directly related to changes in academia with the influence of French philosophers such as Michael Foucault. Foucault pointed out the relationship between knowledge and power and made clear the importance of discourse in the process¹³. Edward Said adapted Foucault's idea in his seminal *Orientalism* in which he pointed out the how the *East* or the *Orient* was created by western discourse, and that the colonized people had no hand in creating knowledge about themselves. Said argues that the creation of knowledge of the west about the east played an important role in the colonial administration and helped the west create a cultural hegemony over the east.

Said's work has been criticized from a variety of perspectives, but its influence on academia was great. It launched a thousand works that aimed to create knowledge about themselves, rejecting the ideas of 'modernity' and the Enlightenment. This field of

¹² Neville Cardus' most famous works include *A Cricketer's Book* (1921), *Days in the Sun* (1924) and *Summer Game* (1929)

¹³ See Michael Foucault: *The Archeaology of Knowledge*

research was called ‘post-colonial’ studies. This group of scholars focussed on the strategies of control and resistance that accompanied colonialism.

It was within this context that texts analyzing the role of sport in society first occurred. Amongst the earliest such analyses were the works on the sociology of sport by Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning¹⁴. These authors adopted a ‘figurational’ or ‘process’ sociological perspective which, as opposed to positivistic approaches that conduct experiments on group behaviour under controlled laboratory conditions, stresses analyzing ‘natural small groups’ such as sports teams to create understanding about human society.

From a historical perspective, the most significant examination of sport has been John Mangan’s analysis of sport in the British Empire. Mangan explored the links between the British public school system, which arose around 1800, and sports. In *The Games Ethic* Mangan was able to highlight the ideology of Athleticism that emerged in the public schools. He pointed out how games were introduced in English public schools to discipline the pupils, and filling leisure time by conveying ideals about morality and character to them. Mangan also pointed out that since the public schools were the place where the governing class of the British Empire were trained, the ideals of athleticism and imperialism got intertwined. The imperial duty became synonymous with moral values like valour and courage. Games, hence, were again used by administrators and missionaries in the colonies to foster loyalty towards the British monarch.

¹⁴ See Eric Dunning (ed) *The Sociology of Sport*, Frank Cass, London, 1971; for an idea of their approach to sociology

Mangan's work has been particularly relevant in situating British team sports within their historical contexts. However, the link between sport and late capitalism was largely unexplored until the mid 90s when works by Joseph Maguire and Toby Miler (et al) highlighted the role of sports as a culture-industry. Taking an interdisciplinary and critical perspective of the global sports industry, Miller et al posit that 'sport is so central to our contemporary moment's blend of transnational cultural industrialization and textualization that it does more than reflect the global- sport is big enough to modify our very use of the term, 'globalization'"¹⁵. Coming from a critical Marxist perspective, Miller et al say that popular culture-notably televised sport- is a crucial site where populations are targeted by different forms of governmental and commercial knowledge/power¹⁶. Drawing to a large part from Bourdieu's theoretical framework, Miller et al are able to demonstrate that the transformation of a sports from a practise to a spectacle, through the use of new media technologies, carries with it new exercises of power through the commodification and increasing government involvement of sport. Millers book can sometimes read like a polemical text against global sporting patterns, nevertheless contributes greatly to revealing the inherent structures of power and dominance within global sports. Mangan is also the editor of Routledge's Sport in Global Society series which is represents an attempt to reify the field of global sports history and sociology under one publishing umbrella. The series constitute some excellent compilations of essays on cricket and globalization.

Jospeph Maguire follows the 'figurations' concept in the study of sport pioneered by Elias and Dunning. To an analysis of the sports-industry and sports-media complexes, Maguire adds an excellent analysis of how power and control in global sports are shaped

¹⁵ Miller et al, Globlization and Sport, p1

¹⁶ Ibid p2

by migration processes. Maguire examines a number of complex 'local-global nexuses'¹⁷ in order to drive home his main point that global sports processes serve to 'diminish contrasts and increase varieties'¹⁸.

Most of the aforementioned examinations of sports history focus on North American and European games such as soccer and ice hockey. Cricket, despite a plethora of books written about it, has a noticeable lack of literature treating it as a global phenomenon. A significant step in this direction has been Brian Stoddart and Keith Standiford's *The Imperial Game*. The book analyses the 'forms and fortunes' of cricket in various parts of the British Empire. It provides excellent accounts of diffusion and appropriation of the game in all the major 'test-playing' nations. The regional organization of the chapters makes it easy to follow the development of the game in different parts of the world. The last chapter entitled 'Other Cultures' examines the game in places like the Trobriand and Samoan islands, where cricket is an integral part of social life but the countries themselves do not compete in international leagues, offers an interesting account of how different cultures adapt and subvert a colonial game. Despite the value of the book as an important reference about development of cricket in the British Empire, it suffers a little from being a compendium with chapters organized along different timelines, and written from completely different perspective.

The lack of literature on a 'global history' of cricket is more than adequately made up by literature from the individual cricketing nations. It has been noted earlier that the perception of cricket as the 'gentleman's game' led to a wider variety of literature associated with cricket. The sort of literature that it gave rise to in the colonies is also

¹⁷ Joseph Maguire, *Global Sport: Identities, Societies, Civilizations*, Polity Press, London, 1999, p13

¹⁸ Ibid p207

interesting as one can glean a lot about the colonizing process and indigenous responses to it from this. One example of this are the memoirs of Shaporjee Sorabjee, a Parsi cricketer, who wrote a detailed account of the Bombay Parsi Cricket Club¹⁹, and their campaign to gain playing space for themselves within a city where most open spaces were occupied by the British Army for their own entertainment. The account is significant since it shows that the dynamics of diffusion of cricket from Britain to its colonies was not straightforward, and that much also depended on the ways local elites reacted to the game. It also signifies an early instance when sport became a political ground on which the marginalized natives found a political voice.

Another book that has been central to the development of this thesis is Arjun Appadurai's *Modernity at Large*. The book is broadly about how post-colonial societies grapple with the idea of modernity. One particular chapter in the book examines the 'decolonization of Indian cricket'²⁰, where he asks how the idea of an Indian nation could occur when divisions on communal and religious lines pervaded every aspect of society. Appadurai answers this question by referring to the role of language and the media in making cricket available to the populace. The process of familiarizing the Indian masses to cricket was long and complex, beginning with princely patronage, and ending with government subsidization of cricket on television. Appadurai conceded that this in itself is not enough to answer the more basic question of why the game ever caught the popular imagination who then used it as a platform on which to play out masculine and nationalist fantasies²¹. The full answer, he says, lies in the intangible benefit that the game provides to various social groups the 'experience of experimenting with what might

¹⁹ See, Shaporjee Sorabjee, *A Chronicle of Cricket amongst Parsees and the Struggle: European Polo versus Indian Cricket*, published by the author, Bombay, 1897

²⁰ Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, University of Minnesota, Minnesota, 1996, p89

²¹ Ibid p112

be called the ‘means to modernity...’²². This experimenting has created a global history in which the colonized have appropriated a cultural form of the colonizer, and are now using it to assert superiority over them. This tangible process is the result of the commingling of a lot of intangible transformations during the 20th century. This thesis shall aim to throw light on some of them.

Other significant works on Indian cricket are Richard Cashman’s *Patrons, Players and the Crowd*, Ramachandra Guha’s *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, and Boria Majumdar’s *Lost Histories of Indian Cricket*. Cashman paints an excellent picture of the development of cricket in India, highlighting the role played by the native elite-princes and merchants-in the development of cricket. Guha examines Indian cricket within the framework of race, caste, religion and nation. His work reflects extensive archival research on Indian cricket, particularly amongst old newspapers and journals. One of the most interesting aspects of Guha’s work is his account of the career of Palwankar Baloo, a low-caste cricketer in colonial India. Guha examines the struggles of Baloo to play cricket in a segregated society, his rise to fame and his subsequent entry into national politics on the basis of his reputation as a cricketer. Majumdar’s work is a good compilation of the lives of the various characters that influenced Indian cricket over the years. He provides detailed and insightful accounts of the lives of people who shaped Indian cricket such as C.K Nayadu, the batsman who acquired the status of a folk-hero in colonial India, and Maharaja of Vizianagram, one of the most opportunist of cricket promoters.

Derek Birley²³ and Jack Williams²⁴ both provide intriguing histories of the game in England. Birley’s works are iconoclastic and very readable and provide an excellent and

²² Ibid

²³ See Derek Birley: *A Social History of English Cricket*, and *The Willow Wand*

²⁴ See Jack Williams: *Cricket and England: A Social and Cultural History of the Inter-War years*

objective account of the social context of the development of cricket. Jack Williams book *Cricket and England* is an analysis of cricket in the interwar year (1918-39). Williams has meticulously compiled data from newspaper reports, club and school histories as well as literary accounts to provide us with a picture of the social significance of cricket and its impact on the nation as well as race, class and gender relations.

Finally, lack of space means I could only mention a few more works on regional cricket that have informed this thesis. Hillary Beckles' *A History of West Indies Cricket* is an excellent account of the development of the cricket in the Caribbean. Beckles looks at cricket history in the Caribbean as divided into three phases: the colonialist, the nationalist and the global phase, and reinforces the claim of James that cricket was a significant social force in the Caribbean. Another significant book is Tom Melville's *The Tented Field: A History of Cricket in the Americas* in which Melville points out the reasons behind America's rejection of cricket. His examination transcends omnibus terms like 'American Exceptionalism' to provide a good account of the elitist patronage of cricket in the Americas that choked off its popular appeal. For South African Cricket, Goolam Vahed et al's book *Blacks in White: A Century of Cricket struggles in Kwa-Zulu Natal* provides a comprehensive survey, while John Gemmel's *The Politics of South African Cricket* locates cricket within political science theories associated with the region. Cashman's chapter on Australia in *The Imperial Game* provides an excellent account of the link between cricket and nationalism in Australia, which is elaborated upon by William Mandel in *Cricket and Australian Nationalism in the 19th Century*.

Methodology and Structure:

This thesis uses concepts from sociology, critical political economy, media studies and cultural studies to elaborate upon the development of cricket in the 20th century.

Analyzing the transfer, appropriation and commercialization of cultural forms requires us to look beyond regimented disciplines. As Lawrence Grossberg implies in his aptly titled *Cultural Studies vs. Political Economy: Is anybody else bored with this debate?*, one cannot consider the developments in the globalized, capitalist world by simply sticking to pre-ordained fields such as cultural studies and political economy, and these fields have indeed had a significant impact on each other²⁵. Hence, I find it imperative to maintain a critical and interdisciplinary outlook when examining the history and development of cricket.

In this analysis I found Appadurai's concept of *-scapes* when analyzing global cultural flows rather useful²⁶. Appadurai refers to five *dimensions* to within which to frame an examination of global cultural transfers- *ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financiescapes and ideoscapes*. He postulates that the global configurations of ethnicity, technology, media, finance and ideology are central to any examination of global cultural flows. The suffix *-scapes*, he says, 'allows us to point to the fluid irregular shapes of these landscapes, shapes that characterize international capital as deeply as they do international clothing styles'²⁷. It also means that these terms do not represent objective given relations that look the same from every angle, rather are deeply perspectival constructs²⁸.

This thesis tries to follow the development of cricket by looking at the changes within these aforementioned *-scapes*. It is a thematic analysis of the history of cricket in the 20th century, looking at it within the grand processes that shaped the 20th century- namely nationalism, colonialism, and the rise to dominance of financial capitalism. I have divided the thesis into three parts: the first, which looks at the historical context and the

²⁵ Lawrence Goldberg, *Cultural Studies vs. Political Economy: Is anyone else bored with this debate?*, Critical Studies in Media Communication, 1479-5809, Volume 12, Issue 1, 1995, p72-81

²⁶ Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p33

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Ibid

logics of the diffusion of the game; the second, which analyzes how the 'cultural code' of cricket was undermined by the colonies to suit their own cultural and societal needs; and the third, which examines how the changing relationship between media and sport, as well as changing world demographics, impacted cricket and led to its current development. Finally, I attempt to draw conclusions from my analysis of cricket about globalization processes and their impact on local culture. By way of conclusion, I also attempt an analysis of what developments in cricket mean for the future of global sport.

I would like to reiterate my commitment to produce 'global history'. As Christopher Bayly points out, 'all local national and regional histories must, in important ways, be history is global history'²⁹, and one could not consider developments in one part of the world without considering their provenance in other parts. I hope this work would be of use to global historians in understanding the significance of one of the most under-analyzed cultural forms of the 20th century-sports. It would also be of use to sociologists, diffusion theorists and students of media in understanding the changes and new linkages that the introduction of cricket brought about within societies, and how these societies, in turn, are changing the game.

²⁹ Christopher Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World: 1780-1914*, Blackwell, 2004, p2

2. The Diffusion of Cricket

This section focuses on the spread of cricket to the British colonies in the late 19th - early 20th century. It follows the transformation of cricket from being a rural pastime to a mass sport with a worldwide following. The purpose of this section is to examine the logic and processes that accompany this cultural transfer from the center to the peripheries in a colonial economy. The introduction of cricket was the center of huge transformation in the political and economic life of the colonies, as we shall see in the subsequent chapters. Here we focus on the origins of the game, as well as the conditions of its diffusion.

The English Context

The Victorian Code of Cricket

Cricket began to be played in South England in the 16th century, but only achieved widespread popularity during the Victorian era. The Victorian era is key if we are to understand the logic of diffusion of Cricket to the colonies. During the 19th century Victorians began glorifying it as the game that perfectly embodies English system of manners, ethics and morals. Cricket was taken to be a representational force that symbolized the best in English society³⁰. This was linked to three dominating ideas during the Victorian era: Christian morality, the rural idyll, and the reverence of tradition.

Cricket became associated with the ideals of muscular Christianity propagated by the clergy which itself was becoming increasingly involved in organizing recreational and leisure activities³¹. Nearly a third of all Oxbridge cricket blues were ordained³². Cricket

³⁰ Jack Williams: *Cricket and England: A Cultural and Social History of the Inter-War Years*, Frank Cass, London, 1999, pxiii

³¹ Ibid p 8, p147

³² Ibid p5

teams based upon Sunday church schools, an institution in early 20th century England, far outnumbered those based on other institutions³³.

In the Victorian consciousness cricket was also located within the rural idyll, revered by the Romantics. Cricket began as a rural pastime and became connected with the English countryside, which to the Victorians was aesthetically and morally superior to the urban. Both these discourses stress an idyll of social cohesion characterized by different groups accepting common moral values. Expression such as 'it's not cricket' and 'play the game' became widespread condemnations of anything reprehensible in everyday life³⁴.

Again, the Victorian era revered tradition and anything that went by the name of it. An appeal to antiquity was the reason for the continued prominence of universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the monarchy, the parliament and common law, in a time when these institutions were under dramatic changes themselves. The traditions associated with cricket dovetailed with the English pastoral idyll. It grew with the keeping of records and passing on into school-lore of public schools and elite universities.

With its appropriation by economic, political and social elite, cricket played an important role in fostering ideas about Britain and Britishness as well as their imperial role in the world³⁵. Fair play, teamwork and valour were supposed to be the moral underpinnings of the game of cricket, as well as that of Britain. This also meant that cricket became and remained an elite practice which reinforced social, political and economic divisions.

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Ibid p74

³⁵ See J.A Mangan: *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, Viking, U.K, 1986

All of this was in turn a response to industrialization. In Victorian consciousness, towns and cities were looked upon as morally and physically corrupt, where selfish commercialism, leading to vulgarity and social conflict, ate away at the foundations of English society³⁶. Further there is the insistence on tradition and propriety that characterized Victorian society which led to the perpetuation of certain practices within cricket such as the authority of ‘amateurs’ or players from privileged backgrounds who played cricket for ‘sport’ as opposed to professionals who played the game for monetary rewards. Cricket was essentially a product of its times. It was a signifier for the moral code of a society that glorified social distinctions and the project of imperialism. In this sense it contributed to the formation of an ideology, that were later used amongst colonized natives, that together with industrial production and military power, led to the development of capitalist modernity in Britain.

Public Schools and the ‘Games Ethic’

An important dynamic in the diffusion of cricket has also been what J.A Mangan calls the ‘games ethic’ of English public schools³⁷. The Victorian system of public schooling emphasized ‘sound mind, sound body’. The stress of physical education at the public schools was mixed with a belief that physical education shaped the moral character of an individual. The racist, elitist and chauvinistic character of English public schools is well documented. The basis of public school education in the British Empire was control by the higher, aristocratic classes who would act as benevolent guides for the rest of the populace. In this the public schools, and the headmasters that ran them acted

³⁶ For further elaboration on this see Martin J. Wiener: *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980*, Penguin, London, 1987

³⁷ See Mangan; *The Games Ethic*

as Gramscian hegemons who produced a dominant discourse about the Empire³⁸. Cricket became a significant part of the public school curriculum from the mid 19th century onwards, in the process becoming a preserve of the British elite. Students of public schools went on to the elite universities of Oxford and Cambridge and took their enthusiasm for cricket there. Many public figures and administrators were cricket enthusiasts and supported the game with fervour³⁹.

Victorian and Edwardian era cricket was fostered by public institutions such as the monarchy, clergy, public schools and universities as an essential part of English life that contributed to the moral as well as the physical development of the players. The perceived role of sport within the society can be gauged from this comment by Bishop Welldon, headmaster of Dulwich and Harrow, both the cream of the public schools in early 20th century England:

“It is not, perhaps wrong to say...that the instinct of discipline and loyalty, the spirit of co-operation and the fine sensitive honour which is essential to a true sport, have been less clearly marked in the lower than higher social classes; and the reason is the deficiency of organised games...For organized games create a fellow feeling among citizens of all classes; they promote good sense, good temper and good fellowship; they exemplify the principles by which an Empire may be knit together; and they are not the least important elements in the formation of that moral character which alone has enabled the British people, while all other Empires have diminished and decayed to maintain their own Empire in its world amplitude and majesty”⁴⁰.

In his comment Bishop Wellington touches on issues that are central to British society at that time- Empire, Class, Morality and National pride, and links them all with performance on the field. The fact should not be lost that Wellington is the headmaster of some of the best public schools in England, whose students go on to become leaders

³⁸ Mangan, the Games Ethic, p43

³⁹ The Viceroy of India Lord Harris, for example, was a fervent supporter of cricket. Cricket also enjoyed widespread appeal in the houses of parliament, testified by the fact that a portion of the Great Railways Bill of 1888 was killed off by cricket interests in the Parliament when it threatened the famous Lords Cricket Ground with demolition.

⁴⁰ The Cricketer Annual 1922-23, Quoted in Jack Williams, Cricket and England, p124

and administrators throughout the British Empire. Sports were hence central in the education system to create a sense of empire and belonging.

Class and Cricket

An examination of the sports in this era throws light on another fascinating aspect of this class divide- that the lower classes by and large bought into the cultural pre-eminence of the upper classes⁴¹. Cricket offers a fascinating example of this. The forms of class co-operation found in cricket suggest that class antagonism was not the chief character of social relations in England. Cricket discourses have long celebrated club cricket as expressions of social harmony. Pelham Warmer, a prominent exponent of the game in the early 20th century says:

“Village cricket represents the essence of the game; for a village match is the truest democracy...[it] encouraged the spirits of freemasonry, camaraderie and esprit de corps. I cannot imagine a man who has been bowled out by a village blacksmith not have fellow feeling towards him afterward. Can you imagine a cricketer becoming a Lenin?”⁴²

On the outside cricket seems to be the ideal ground for violent class conflict to break out. Cricket in turn of century Britain was a game organized primarily along class lines. The British elite treated it as their exclusive preserve, acting as guardians of high culture. Professional cricketers were recruited from the working class by various county teams, yet had to face various forms of discrimination-from not being allowed to captain a side, defer to ‘amateur’ privileged players, to entering the grounds from different gates and having separate dressing rooms⁴³. Professional cricketers were not allowed to captain a cricket team, which remained in the hands of the privileged amateurs until 1954. Holding onto amateur privileges can be seen as a product of the wider culture of wealthier classes and their reluctance to embrace an ethic of out and out

⁴¹ Ibid p40

⁴² Ibid p137

⁴³ Ibid p117

commercialism⁴⁴. This unique character of the British upper class has been highlighted by Martin Wiener who thought that the cultural attitudes of the British elite were antagonistic to the acquisitive and ruthless ethic of commercialism⁴⁵.

Nevertheless, Williams in his analysis of cricket between the wars points out that the professionals deferred to the cultural code of cricket, which emphasized a spirit of sportsmanship and amateur authority. Although professional cricketers were aware of the gulf between the privileges of amateurs and professionals, there was no strong sense that their interests were in conflict. This despite the fact that for many professionals cricket was their only source of income, and how they performed on the field had a direct impact on what they earned. The amateur-professional division of privileges meant that amateurs got to decide who contributed by deciding the order of batting and bowling. This deference may have been a reflection of class privileges in other walks of life, however, since cricket made social divisions so obvious, perceptions of amateur privilege and authority within cricket suggest that the middle class in general tended to share the cultural assumptions of the upper classes⁴⁶.

Cricket was hence the most conservative social platform in Britain, and something to which the British attached a lot of virtue. For the British officers and merchants in the colonies, this game provided the much needed social connection with the motherland. Cricket began to be played wherever the British went. It's relation to discourses on empire; nation and morality provided it with a primacy in the minds of the colonial officers.

⁴⁴ Ibid p122

⁴⁵ See Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*

⁴⁶ Williams p135

Colonial Promotion and Indigenous Appropriation

The spread of cricket in the colonies was not a straightforward equation of the ‘colonial master’ and the ‘imitative native’. The logic of cricket diffusion actually calls into question traditional categories of agents and assimilators. As we shall see, these categories were very fluid in the colonial context.

Colonial Promotion

The history of cricket playing followed different dynamics in different colonies, mirroring the strategic and economic importance that these colonies had to the Empire. However, there are two things that are common to the introduction and promotion of cricket throughout the British Empire- the role of educational establishments, as well as the promotion of cricket amongst the indigenous elite. The disciplinary practices that were part of the British colonial project have been well documented⁴⁷. In the colonies ‘the Victorians were determined to civilize the rest of the world, and an integral feature of that process as they understood it was to dispel the gospel of athleticism (...)’⁴⁸. It was supposed to transfer vigour and manliness to the ‘lazy native’. As Appadurai notes in the case of India:

“Cricket was one of many arenas in which a colonial sociology was constructed and reified. In this sociology, India was seen as a congeries of antagonistic communities, populated by men (and women) with a variety of psychosocial defects. Cricket was seen as an ideal way to socialize natives into new modes of inter-group conduct and new standards of public behaviour. Ostensibly concerned with recreation and competition, its underlying quasi official charter was moral and political”⁴⁹.

The establishment of colleges for the training of the colonial elite was a significant step in the diffusion of the Victorian ideal of sportsmanship. From the mid 19th century

⁴⁷ See, for example, Edward Said: *Orientalism*, Penguin, London, 2003; or Mahmood Mamdani: *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Colonialism*, Fountain, Kampala, 1996

⁴⁸ Keith Sandiford; *Cricket and The Victorians*, Scholar Press, Aldershot, 1994, p81

⁴⁹ Arjun Appadurai: *Modernity at Large*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1996, p93

onwards, the British started establishing public schools in various parts of the Empire to train local administrators. One of the earliest and most prominent amongst these is the Rajkumar College in Rajkot and Mayo College in Ajmer in India. This in itself was the result of profound changes in the imperial ideology following the uprising of 1857⁵⁰. The uprising saw various princely rulers in India rise up against the British policies of land annexation. In the wake of these events, when Indian rulers mobilized their populace against the British in a popular uprising that almost overthrew British rule in Delhi, it became imperative to foster alliances with the Indian ruling elite. This coupled with the civilizing mission ideology, which stated that it is the duty of the benevolent monarch to bring the people of India to moral maturity, led to the establishment of public schools for Indian princes.

These schools were administered and run by the British government in India. The headmaster and the chief administrator for these schools were usually European. It is interesting to note, as Mangan does⁵¹, that the British decided to court the Indian aristocracy and not the merchants, industrialists and entrepreneur that were later to form the backbone of the nationalist movement. This again betrays that imperial ideology that laid emphasis on social order where the elites stay in control. At any rate, the public schools in India provide a fascinating example of the diffusion of an educational ethic arising from imperial conquest⁵². Here too, as in the English public schools, cricket was considered to be an important instrument in moral training and promoted by administrators. The English schools laid stress on the leadership, and here too as in England the sports field was the field of achievement. Charles Macnaghten, a pioneer of the public school education for the feudatory chiefs, would probably best signify the

⁵⁰ Mangan, *The Games Ethic*, p122-141

⁵¹ *Ibid* p141

⁵² *Ibid*

attitude of the British educators towards their princely wards. Macnaghten was the archetypical British educator who served as the headmaster of Rajkumar College 1870 onwards and espoused the ideals of Victorian manhood-duty, valour, courage and team spirit. Cricket was his chosen vehicle for education, as he would frequently read to the pupils from 'Tom Brown's Schooldays'⁵³, a book about a cricket captain leading his team to victory in face of various match crises. He constructed playing fields and frequently referred to games as being the chief factor in the proper education of a schoolboy.

Schools in other parts of the Empire also caught onto the ideal of Athleticism. CLR James mentions his secondary school in Trinidad- Queen's Royal College- as one of the chief cricketing institutions in the Caribbean. In relation to West Indian cricket Brian Stoddart writes:

“the colonial elites maintained and established cultural primacy through cricket as much as through economic and political power...these elites established and maintained their position by determining that their values and standards be accepted by the populace at large as the cultural program most appropriate to the community, even though the community had no access to the institutions through which this program was accumulated...agencies such as the church and school became as important in the Caribbean as they had been at home in fostering the skills and traditions which carried in them the imperial message of cricket”⁵⁴.

Schools in New Zealand and South Africa too carried on these traditions, with a significant difference that there was no middle class here to emulate the colonial masters and the elite institutions were kept away from the hands of the native people.

Cricket was hence actively promoted as part of the imperial system. It had a place of honour in imperial culture, and also found its champions outside the schools and amongst the Viceroys and governors in the colonies. In the colonies, cricket was supposed to be the highest form of development of imperial culture. Its place in the

⁵³ Ibid133

⁵⁴ Brian Stoddart: *Cricket and Colonialism in the English Speaking Caribbean to 1914: Towards a Cultural Analysis* in J.A Mangan(ed.) *Pleasure profit and Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914*, Frank Cass, London, 1988, p251

minds of the colonialists has been aptly noted by famous cricket writer Cecil Headlam, who was part of a team of cricketers that toured India in the year of the Coronation Durbar in Delhi:

“First the hunter, the missionary, and the merchant, next the soldier, and then the politician and the cricketer—that is the history of British colonization. The hunter may exterminate deserving species, the missionary may cause quarrels, the soldier may hector, the politician blunder, but cricket unites—as in India—the ruler and the ruled. It also provides moral training and an education in pluck nerve and self-restraint that is valuable to the character of the ordinary native⁵⁵.

Cricket's role as an educating and civilizing device found many supporters in the colonial administration. Given that most colonial administrators were the product of English public schools and elite universities, it is no surprise that these individuals committed immense resources and time to the playing of cricket in the colonies. Prominent examples are Lord Harris in Bombay, Pelham Warner in the Caribbean and ...However, the colonial promotion of the game has to be matched by an indigenous enthusiasm for it. The next section shall consider the motivations behind the appropriation and rejection of cricket by various cultures around the world.

Indigenous Appropriation

From the moment that cricket was introduced, one sees the game being taken to enthusiastically by the indigenous population, prompting Richard Cashman to ask:

“Where does the promoting hand of the colonial master stop and where does the adapting and assimilating indigenous tradition start? Is it merely adaptation and domestication or does it go beyond that to constitute resistance and even subversion? And how far can the colonial acceptance of cricket be seen as superior colonial salesmanship and successful exercise of social control using the highly developed and subtle ideology of games and colonialism? Or was it that many colonial subjects chose to pursue a game, because of ideology, or even in spite of it, because it suited them to take up cricket for their own reasons? Or was the ideology of colonialism the starting point for the adoption of cricket but once the

⁵⁵ Cecil Headlam, *Ten Thousand Miles Through India and Burma*, p168, quoted in Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, p103-104

game was launched other factors came to bear which led to its spread and consolidation?’’⁵⁶

Cashman raises an important point. The promotion of cricket in the colonies was not solely because of the British zeal to spread the game. In fact, in a lot of places the British actively discouraged the game or were the chief threat against it. The agents of globalization of this game were not the British as much as it was local zeal for the game. What drove people in the colonies to adapt a long, complicated and sometimes tiresome form of entertainment, even in the face of opposition from the colonizers? Why did countries and cultures, like pre-partition India, take so readily to cricket while fighting against any imperialist encroachment into the local culture? These are some of the questions that this section sets out to answer.

Like other aspects of colonial cultural diffusion, sports too were mediated by mercantile elite. The first people to start playing cricket in India were the ‘middleman’ Parsee community. The Parsees were, according to Cashman, ‘a wealthy entrepreneurial group who acted as cultural brokers between the British and Indian Society’⁵⁷. The Parsees are a community that derived great social and economic benefits by collaborating with the British in trade and services. They occupied the ‘middleman’ role in the colonial society, brokering between the British and other communities. Their stature as a brokering community led to the Parsees representing themselves as being British, in order to demonstrate fitness for the role of collaboration.

The involvement of Parsees in cricket soon led other communities in the subcontinent to take an active interest in the game. Other communities in Bombay who

⁵⁶ Richard Cashman: *Cricket and Colonialism: Colonial Hegemony and Indigenous Subversion*, in Mangan (ed) *Pleasure, Profit and Proselytism*, p261

⁵⁷ Ibid, 190-191

had a significant stake in benefits of colonial trade decided to take up the colonizers game as well. Hindus and Muslims soon formed their own clubs, and the Bombay Pentangular tournament was founded with teams from the Europeans, Hindus, Muslims, Parsees and an Others team representing a team of mixed religions apart from the Hindus and Muslims. Most of the patrons of the sport came, once again, from the wealthy Gujrati merchant-bankers that had gained ascendancy by allying themselves with the colonial state⁵⁸. Muslim cricket had been pioneered by the Lukmani and Tyabji families, while the Hindu cricket club was set up by contributions from a Hindu Gujrati merchant, G.P Jivandas⁵⁹.

A large part of the patronage for cricket in India came from small princely states. Cricket provided the princes the opportunity to exercise more clout in the council of princes by ingratiating themselves to the British on the field of sports. The earliest patrons of cricket in India, and those that did the most ultimately to popularize and democratize the game, were the princes. Small princely states like Baroda, Nawanagar and Scindia rose in prominence through their involvement in cricket. Indian princes taking up the game also meant opening up of opportunity for lower classes of the indigenous population. The princes, much like the elite 'amateurs' in England, would rarely bowl or field, and sometimes were carried in palanquins to the pitch. The princes perhaps saw in cricket another extension of their royal spectacles, an important part in the obligations and mystique of Indian royals towards their subjects. The princes provided direct and indirect support to many cricketers from humble families, who would later find their way to bigger cities and more important teams⁶⁰. They also

⁵⁸ See C.A Bayly: *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion 1770-1870*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983

⁵⁹ Ramachandra Guha; *A Corner of a Foreign Field: The Indian History of a British Sport*, Picador, London, 2002, p60-61

⁶⁰ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p95

imported coaches and players, usually 'professionals' from England and Australia, to train their teams and make them more competitive, increasing the competitiveness of teams composed entirely of Indians.

In Australia and South Africa, cricket was essentially a game played by the white settlers and guarded from the blacks and aborigines that inhabited these lands. Cricket in here contributed a 'cultural bond of white imperial fraternity' of instrumental use to the dominant male elite⁶¹. This imperial brotherhood was fostered by old-boys networks of public schools and Oxbridge graduates. In many cases, colonial officials were hired on the basis of their abilities in the cricket field⁶². This coupled with imperialistic ideology and the exigencies of a settler society led them to practice extreme forms of social exclusion. South African whites, for example, consistently displayed frontier behaviour, insisting on religious, moral and cultural barriers to distinguish themselves.⁶³ South African cricket was hence put beyond the reach of immigrant Indians, who were brought to South Africa as indentured labour or came there as traders, and local Africans. This does not mean that they did not play cricket, but that recognition was reserved for South African whites. The game played by the coloureds never found official recognition. The links between sport and Empire are highlighted in the offices that famous cricketers held in the early 20th century. Sir Abe Bailey, for instance, was regularly feted by the English as being responsible for the admirable position of South Africa in the cricket world. Bailey was an imperialist, Rand magnate, belonged to the reform committee in 1896 and was a British sympathizer during the South African wars. Cricket tours by the MCC were essentially connected with the imperial social scene. Players were hosted by the

⁶¹ Brian Stoddart and Keith Sandiford (ed.) : *The Imperial Game: Cricket, Culture and Society*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1998, p62

⁶² Mangan, *The Imperial Game*, p73

⁶³ Ibid

prominent personalities in the colonies, and imperial conviviality formed the backdrop to most cricket matches.⁶⁴

The Australian scenario is not much different from South Africa. Some of the first cricket grounds attempted to replicate the names of famous cricket clubs in England. Mandle also points out that cricket provided the vehicle for an emerging Australian nationalism through which the peripheral colony could 'thrash the motherland'. Tours to Australia were frequently used as a barometer in the press of colonial development or imperial decline. Cricket hence remained a popular vehicle on which Australians created their national identity.

The Americas

One of the most interesting questions when looking at the diffusion of cricket throughout the British Empire is why did the erstwhile American colonies- the United State and Canada-not adapt cricket as readily as the rest of the Commonwealth. These countries had far more common culturally between themselves than, say, Britain and India. In the United States, cricket survived until the mid 19th century as an important link to the British cultural heritage⁶⁵. Similarly, Canada was a prominent part of the cricket world up until the late 19th century. The first matches of the West Indies were organized against teams from Canada and the United States. However, there is a noticeable decline of the game here from the early 20th century onwards. How then do we explain the demise of the imperial game in Canada and the United States?

Several factors for this decline have been put forward by commentators. Climatic factors, as well as the basic incompatibility of cricket with the American cultural

⁶⁴ Stoddart and Sandiford, *The Imperial Game*, p63-64

⁶⁵ *Ibid* p135

worldview, which apparently prefers fast paced game, have been stressed as factors that led to the de-popularization of cricket in North America in the late 19th century. A 19th century sports writer put it thus:

“we fast people of America, call cricket slow and tedious while the leisurely, take your time my boy people of England think of our game baseball as too fast. Each game, however, suits the people of the two nations”⁶⁶

American Exceptionalism is also blamed for American completely breaking their ties with the British game. An important factor may also be the character of European immigration to the Americas. Due to competing European cultural influences, British culture was not able to establish a hegemonic position in the Americas.

But as we have seen above, cricket was able to find roots in cultures far more incompatible to the British than the Americas, such as South Asia. This was itself determined by dynamics of elite patronage, mercantile and lower class aspirations and formation of modern political identities. The cultural difference argument for the non-diffusion of cricket to the Americas assumes that there is a cultural predilection to cricket, which decides whether the game is successfully appropriated or not. However, the appropriation of cricket in cultures of the Trobriand Islanders to the Dutch in South Africa belies this theory. Neither the Trobriands nor the Boers shared any of the cultural code that cricket brought with it, yet took enthusiastically to the game. In both these cultures, the appropriation of the game by dominant elite was a crucial aspect for the successful diffusion of the game. Hence, a look at patronage structures in late 19th century America would be interesting to answer our question.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Jason Kauffman and Orlando Patterson: *Cross-national Cultural Diffusion: The Global Spread of Cricket*, American Sociological Review, Vol.70, No.1, Feb.2005, p 90

Early 20th century Canada and the United States were places of increasing growth and class mobility. In both these societies, cricket was an extremely elitist game. Jason Kauffman and Orlando Patterson opine that this was ultimately detrimental to the diffusion of cricket in the Americas⁶⁷. They reject the explanations based on cultural difference, saying that it was the exclusivity of the Canadian and US elites that ultimately led to the sport being reduced merely to an elite pastime as opposed to a becoming a mass sport. For the North American elites, 'cricket had become something precious, part of their heritage, and elite pastime more akin to ancestor worship than play'⁶⁸. In both places elite cricket players retreated to small, elite clubs competing amongst themselves⁶⁹.

These elite centers were mostly East Coast cities with rich Anglican heritage, such as Philadelphia⁷⁰.

This is in stark contrast with the nature of diffusion of the game in other parts of the empire. The elites in these areas were willing to 'share' the game, allowing talented non-elites to play the game and in the process making it a truly mass medium. The question of why were elites in certain parts of the empire more willing to 'share' the game than elites in other parts is one that cannot be answered comprehensively. Patterson and Kaufmann, on the basis of a sociological 'theories of diffusion' say that the key differentiating factor was the social mobility in USA and Canada, in contrast to the rest of the British Empire in the late 19th century. The elites in USA and Canada 'captured' a cultural innovation and made it their own so that they could mark out certain forms of culture as being exclusive to them. In other places the elites actively aided in the

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ Ibid p95

⁶⁹ Ibid p97

⁷⁰ See Tom Melville; *The Tented Field: A History of Cricket in the Americas*, Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1998

propagation of a new cultural form since they were themselves secure at the top of the social hierarchy, and hence had no 'class anxiety'⁷¹.

Conclusions:

Kaufman and Patterson point towards an interesting trend. Cricket was adapted successfully in societies with high levels of social segmentation and comparatively rigid class structures. The game was taken up by elites since it offered them an entrance into imperial culture, allowing them to curry favour with the colonial administration. At the same time, the popular appeal of the game was reinforced because of the symbolic value of defeating social superiors or asserting their own identity.

The popularization of cricket was part of the English 'civilising mission'. In this the idea of Athleticism played a central role. However, the appropriation of cricket by the colonies followed a path different from that of 'fair-play' and 'gentlemen's game' that was associated with the Victorians. As Stoddart and Sandiford point out, 'the story of cricket is about the colonial quest for identity in the face of the colonizers search for authority'⁷². The era of colonialism was one where different political identities got fashioned, and the sporting field was the place of the earliest expositions of these identities. Defeating the colonizer, and not moral well-being, was the driving force behind the success of cricket in cultures very different from its own. Wherever, cricket offered added symbolic value to the idea of a community, it was successfully adapted. Inherently, this process involved the opening up of cricket to larger groups in the colonies, while it remained restricted to a certain social milieu in Britain. The rise of lower caste cricketers in India, such as Palwankar Baloo, well documented by Ramachandra Guha, was a result of these

⁷¹ Kaufmann and Patterson, p104

⁷² Stoddart and Sandiford (ed.) *The Imperial Game*, p1

processes. Cricket was one of the first public platforms on which lower-castes came onto the national stage in the early 20th century, from where they went onto have successful careers in politics ⁷³.

Nevertheless, in those early days, achieving status through sport required one to bend to the imperial ideal. The successful entrepreneurs of cricket in the early 20th century, be it elite clubs like Spartan and Empire in the West Indies, or the small-princes in India all were willing subjects of the colonial regime. Perhaps the best example of this comes from one of the first celebrities in world cricket, K.S Ranjitsinghji, or Ranji as he is popularly known. Ranji was an Indian prince who started playing cricket while at public school in England, and soon attained fame through his skill and ‘oriental’ grace of his style. He was selected to play for England in . In a brilliant biography of Ranji, Satadru Sen writes:

“The first pattern is that, in order to breach the racial codes of cricket and play the game at the highest levels in England, Ranjitsinhji had to overcome formidable opposition. In the process of this conflict, he had to reinvent his racial, gendered and political identities. The second pattern is that, even as England admitted Ranjitsinhji into its closed inner circle, it insisted on marking him with the signs of the colonized Other”.⁷⁴

The anti-colonial response to the same usually came not from the promoters, but from the spectators. In this context, another Indian cricketer, C.K Nayadu is significant. Nayadu started playing for the Hindus in the Bombay Pentangular, which was by now a popular spectacle. His innings, particularly those against European sides, were held up as nationalist response to the colonialists. As one memoir put it:

“Every sixer hit by ‘C.K.’ against the slow bowlers of the visitors was as good as a nail in the coffin of the British Empire. I remember a shot that he hit against James Langridge which sailed over the pavilion at the Lahore Gymkhana Ground in what is now called Bagh-i-Jinnah. We madly cheered each shot past the

⁷³ Guha, *Corner of a Foreign Field*, p121-2. 168-9

⁷⁴ Satadru Sen: *Migrant Races: Empire, Identity and K.S Ranjitsinhji*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2005, p241

boundary not only as a cricket performance but also as an assertion of our resolve to throw the British out of India”⁷⁵.

Finally, we see that cricket fostering two kinds of identities in the early 20th century: either extremely localized religious identities (such as in the case of India), or loyalty to the empire (such as Australia and South Africa). The interesting question here is how the idea of a national sporting entity emerged from these levels of identification with cricket. This we shall explore in the next chapter.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Guha, *Corner of a Foreign Field*, p205

3. Identity, Nation and Globalization

The remarkable documentary *The Structure of Trobriand Cricket*, tells us a lot about the nature in which cultural practices propagated by the metropolis are adapted by the periphery to reflect their own social attributes and needs. Directed by an American anthropologist assisted by a Trobriand student, the documentary provides a brilliant insight into the process of 'transfer and transformation' that accompany globalization. Cricket was introduced to the Trobriand islanders in the 1920s by British colonialists. Since then, the game, in the islands, has become completely refashioned, brought more in tune with local customs and needs. Cricket has become a mock war-ritual, as most of the fundamentals of the game were abandoned. Entire villages participated in the games (as opposed to the eleven that form part of a cricket team), over-arm bowling actions gave way to spear throwing actions, white flannels to war paint, and the fall of each wicket was accompanied by a dance which the entire village participated in. The Trobriand subversion of cricket can be equated with the association of cricket with a variety of social agendas in other colonies. The common factor is the subversion of an imperial cultural form in order to attach new meaning and symbolism to the sport, something that different cultures did with different degrees of success.

Following up on the substantive question of what shifted the power center of world cricket from the west to the east, we would currently examine the game in the postcolonial context. So far we have seen how local identities coupled with state/ruling class patronage contributed to the success or failure of the diffusion of cricket to various parts of the British Empire. In this chapter we shall see how interest in the game was sustained following the collapse of the Empire, and what forms cricket took in the colonies following liberation. The dominant trend in post-colonial cricket is the rise of cricketing nationalism which parallels national strength to its performance on a cricket

field. This was not a straightforward process, because, as we have noted, cricket was meant to be a bond of imperial unity, which in places like India, worked brilliantly with the colonial policy of divide and rule.

How then was cricket able to subvert its imperial code? What processes accompanied the association of sport with the nation? And how does this add to our understanding of cultural globalization in the 20th century?

The appropriation of an imported cultural form by nation states is testimony to the persuasive power of sport in forming identities. Further, in the post-Imperial era, the commercialization of all cultural forms added new dynamics to the spread of cricket. Here I shall argue that in the globalization of cricket, the nation state was the arbiter. The appropriation of cricket as a national icon had a direct impact on the power structures of the game, contributing to its decolonization. Nationalism, ironically, was a significant step towards the appropriation of cricket by the colonies.

Postcolonial Cricket

Before beginning the discussions, a couple of theoretical problems should be elaborated on. Firstly, the post-colonial moment arrives at different times in different societies. Australia, New Zealand and the Americas were politically independent much before the India and Pakistan, while South Africa, arguably, could not be considered post-colonial until the abolition of the apartheid regime. Secondly, there arises the question of to what societies could we extend the post-colonial label to. Should the post-colonial be limited to third-world/developing countries of Asia and Africa, or should countries that are today considered economically and technologically advanced like Australia and New Zealand also be counted within them.

Although this paper does not provide answers to the aforementioned problems, it considers it best to include all the former colonies of Britain in its analysis. This is because the complex dynamic of colonialism manifests itself differently in different societies. Also the agents of colonialism are different in different societies. Hence while the apartheid South Africa and the Australian state for much of the 20th century could be termed colonial (or neo-colonial) in the treatment of its own indigenous people, colonialism mean the direct domination of the workforce by the British in South Asia and the Caribbean. Therefore this paper is of the opinion that examining a performative social process like sport in these societies would tell us a lot more about the nature and dynamics of colonialism in these societies. The examination of cricket in these societies hopes to further clarify these questions, without alluding to too-broad generalizations.

We can broadly place post-colonial society within two distinct categories- the Dominions, including Australia, New Zealand and South Africa; and the Commonwealth, including the South Asian and African states that were part of the British Empire. The responses that each of these societies had towards colonialism impacted directly on the development of cricket in them. Feminist scholarship has demonstrated how, in the absence of other public modes of self-assertion⁷⁶, the domestic sphere became the arena for parading male ‘macho’ identities. The cricket ground hence became a space where local identities got the opportunity to challenge and defeat the colonial power. However, such a vociferation came not out of an inbuilt sense of nationalism. Defeating Britain hence came to signify a sort of rite of passage for the ex-

⁷⁶ For a discussion on gendered identities and nationalism under British Rule see Tanika Sarkar: *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism*, Permanent Black, 2001

colonies. The popular interest in defeating the British at their own game fueled the popularity of cricket in the ex-colonies after the decline of British power.

The first instance of nationalist organization of sport came from the colonial power themselves. The stature of cricket as an imperial sport, meant to foster closer ties within the British empire, meant that regular competitions had to take place between teams from England, and team from the colonies-such as India, South Africa, Australia and the West Indies. These teams were not necessarily representative of their nations. In the early 1890s, for example, 'Indian' teams were composed almost entirely of Englishmen⁷⁷. The process whereby indigenous people came to represent their national sides followed the dynamics largely of mass anti-colonial movements in these societies.

The Dominion States: Australia and South Africa

For settler societies like Australia and South Africa, cricket was always the means to demonstrate self-worth to the English. The Australians considered their national culture to be an offshoot of English culture, a perception that remains a popular mindset in Australia today⁷⁸. This also means the marginalization of other identities, such as that of the Australian aborigines. Much is said in cricket about Australia's famous rivalry with England, yet it is little known that the first Australian side to visit England was composed entirely of Aborigines. The treatment meted out to them stands in sharp contrast to the hospitality commonly accorded to white touring teams. One account of the first ever match played by an Australian touring side describes the post-play 'action' involving an Aboriginal cricketer called Dick-a-Dick:

⁷⁷ Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p 98,

⁷⁸ Brett Hutchins : *Unity, Difference and the 'National Game': Cricket and Australian National Identity*, in Stephen Wagg (ed.) *Cricket and National Identity in the Postcolonial Age*, Taylor and Francis, 2005; and Richard Cashman: *Australia* in Stoddart and Sandiford, *The Imperial Game*

“The ‘action’ began after stumps were drawn, but sometimes, as happened in Lords in June 1868, there was a bizarre turn of events. MCC members gleefully discarded their top hats and tails and gladly paid a bob to ‘stone’ and Aboriginal cricketer. Side-show alley had come to lords...Dick-a-Dick used a shield to fend off and deflect cricket balls tossed at his upper body and head...the members line up in turn and each man threw at full force from 10 paces”.⁷⁹

Cricket in Australia was a white man's sport played in the outpost of Empire. It was driven, as we have seen, by a desire to overcome the ‘crude cousin’ tag and become more in tune with the metropolitan culture. In this schema the Australian aboriginals have no place, and despite Aboriginals being the first Australian cricket team, only 18 of them have played for Australia so far. On the other hand, the sporting field proved to be fertile ground to cultivate the ‘Australian type’, defined by the tough, masculine, Anglo-Celtic and intensely nationalistic character⁸⁰.

Similarly, South Africa kept the game away from its coloured community after the transfer to dominion status in 1910. Until then cricket in South Africa was organized along the lines of ethnicity, with Malay, Indian, African and European cricket leagues⁸¹. However, with the exclusion of the native peoples from public life following the Native People's Act of 1913, the national team became monopolized by white Afrikaners. At the same time, cricket played a significant role in exposing the bigotry of the apartheid regime. In 1968, South African authorities refused to allow their team to play against an English side that contained a coloured player-Basil de Oliviera. Oliviera, who was of South African descent, was subsequently dropped under the pretext of lack of skills. However, this led to a huge outcry in liberal Britain, prompting the British authorities to withdraw the tour. The South African government subsequently went as far as

⁷⁹ A.A Mallet, Bradman's Band (2000), quoted in Tara Brabazon: *Playing on the Periphery: Sport, Identity and memory*, Routledge, London, 2006, p132

⁸⁰ Brett Hutchins, in Wagg (ed.) *Cricket and National Identity*, p12

⁸¹ See Ashwin Desai et al: *Blacks in Whites: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwa Zulu Natal*, University of Kwa Zulu Natal Press, 2003

announcing that all sporting ties with the world were white ties, leading to an international sporting boycott. At the same time the IOC withdrew its invitation to South Africa from the Olympic games, after a threatened boycott by other African nations⁸². South Africa was formally expelled from the IOC in 1970 and the ICC in 1980. In the latter an important hand was that of the coloured nations of India, Pakistan, West Indies and Sri Lanka, which had by now gained a majority.

The Commonwealth States- The Subcontinent and the West Indies

This experience was markedly different from what made up the Commonwealth in cricket- the Indian subcontinent and West Indies. Cricket here came to be a representative sport, with non-white communities gaining precedence. Some aspects of this diffusion have been elaborated upon in the previous chapter. Here, we shall continue the discussion with a focus on how the game came to be associated with the national culture of these countries.

The best example of appropriation of cricket from a historically repressed community comes from Caribbean cricket. In the Caribbean, as opposed to the South Africa, cricket was a game that was accessible to both whites and coloureds, provided that they had the economic resources to do so. The West Indian elites followed the same distinction between amateur and professional cricketers as their English counterparts. This allowed large numbers of coloureds to participate as professionals. A hypothesis may be ventured here that South African elites, which consisted of Dutch settlers, unlike the white Caribbean elites who were mostly English, were anxious to preserve their monopoly of imperial cultural institutions. The West Indians white elites on the other

⁸² Apartheid: The Political Influence of Sport, Mail and Guardian, 16th January, 2007, <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-01-16-apartheid-the-political-influence-of-sport>, last accessed 6th September, 2009

hand looked upon cricket as their *own* culture, and subscribed to the Victorian notion of cricket as a 'gentleman's game'.

At any rate, in the hands of blacks and coloureds in the Caribbean, cricket became 'the focus around which an intensive civil rights war was waged as they sought the democratization of social culture as well as organizational autonomy'⁸³. West Indian Cricket has hence been accurately described as 'resistance'⁸⁴ or 'liberation'⁸⁵ cricket, since it challenges, undermines and finally re-fashions imperial cultural practices towards being an expression of political autonomy by the colonized. This was influenced to a great deal by Black Nationalism which became a dominant force in the West Indies in the 1930s. In 1938 masses confronted the local whites and the imperial states in a series of rebellions in which they demanded the political franchise, social reform and access to economic resources. Empowered by the revolutions of the 1930s, West Indian blacks organized clubs of their own, which took over the game by sheer force of numbers. The formation of such black cricket clubs like Spartan and Empire meant that there was a steady financial and organizational force behind it.

The popularity of the game immediately made it the center of political discourse. Leary Constantine, a prominent black activist of the mid-20th century who became the first black man to be made a peer, began his career on the cricket field while he was part of the West Indies cricket team that played an instrumental part in defeating England in 1934-35. Constantine championed the cause of black captaincy of the cricket team,

⁸³ Hilary McD. Beckles: *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Vol.1 The Age of Nationalism*, University of West Indies Press, Jamaica, 1998, p11

⁸⁴ Chris Searle: *Race Before Cricket: Cricket Empire and the White Rose*, *Race and Class* 31, no.3 (January/March 1990): 343-45

⁸⁵ See Hilary McD. Beckles and Brian Stoddart (ed.): *Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995

saying that white captains could not feel the same intensity of purpose when leading the West Indies side, especially against England. In his memoir on cricket he wrote:

“Of all the test playing combinations the West Indies is alone composed of men of different race. And there lies the difficulty which I believe few of the West Indian selectors recognize themselves. As I shall have reason to point out more emphatically in a moment, Test Match cricket to-day is no sort of game. It is a battle. And to win you need the strenuous effort of individual players: the work of each player must be backed by a sense of solidarity, of all the others supporting him, not only actually, but so to speak, in the spirit”⁸⁶

As Beckles points out cricket struggle was in the vanguard of the liberation of blacks from colonial domination⁸⁷. Led by figures like CLR James and Constantine, the movement to find a black West Indian captain finally proved fruitful in 1960 with the appointment of Frank Worrell. This was a significant event, as Beckles points out, since the most popular public institution in the Caribbean was now in the hands of a black person.

While Englishmen and the creole elites sought to imitate and fossilize cricketing images and behavioral patterns that originated with the Victorian gentry, the West Indian masses surrounded and infused the game with an aura and ethos derived from their popular struggles and residual cultural norms.⁸⁸ This is an example of the post-colonial context in which the sport now began to be played. In Caribbean society this continued to be a source of exclusion, now for the whites, who looked towards the visiting English teams to put the black cricketers into their place. The ruptures within the society were easily visible within cricket, as was its post-colonial milieu.

Paradoxically, the West Indies federation did not last too long. The pan-Black agenda of the federation soon gave way to the inter island rivalries which split up into its

⁸⁶ Constantine: *Cricket and I*, Allan, London, 1993, p170

⁸⁷ Beckles: *Development of West Indies Cricket*, p76

⁸⁸ Ibid, p102

constituent islands. The West Indian cricket team, however, continued to play as a unit with the spirit of Black Power very much within its culture. Aspects of performance and spectacle, such as the Calypso, valorize the deeds of players on the field. Sometimes carrying distinctly political messages, the Calypso too has added to appropriation of cricket as a local spectacle in the Caribbean, and was particularly popular in the 50s and 60s, the era of West Indian Cricket superiority⁸⁹.

In India, as we have noted, cricket was already a widely popular game by the end of colonial rule. Different communities had successfully appropriated cricket, and the Bombay Pentangular became an integral part of the cricketing calendar. In addition, the patronage of the princes brought the game within easy reach of each and every Indian.

Cricket in the post-colonial India was dominated by the international form of the game. With the abolition of the Bombay Pentangular tournament shortly before independence, the domestic game never found as much support. This is somewhat paradoxical given that the patrons of the cricket in India were local royalty and elites who had lost a number of privileges to the Indian state post Independence. Yet, the national form of the game found increasing popularity amongst the masses.

The Indian nation state was extremely receptive of cricket. The nationalist movement was led by leaders who had a proclivity towards the game, such as Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, product of Eton and Harrow and himself an avid cricketer. Nehru instituted an inter-parliamentary cricket match as an annual fixture between the lower and upper houses of the parliament. The support of nationalist, yet

⁸⁹ David Rudders' *Rally Around the West Indies*, is an excellent example.

Anglicized, elite brought to a game a certain level of glamour in the immediate-post independence era, adding to its mass appeal.

The patrons of cricket were now state-owned corporations, such as the State Bank of India, or rich industrialists such as the Tatas⁹⁰. These firms employed cricketers as a form of social relations exercise, allowing them access to easy marketing and popularity⁹¹. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that soon after the British left India, cricket was not the most popular game. Football and Hockey, in which India had won an Olympic gold in the famous 1936 Berlin Olympics, were just as popular. Cricket's strength was in the elite urban centers such as Bombay and Delhi.

Cricket gained a lot from the interest of the wealthy Bombay industrialists, making it the center of Indian cricket. Other places such as Calcutta, where cricket playing started earlier than Bombay lagged behind for the lack of significant investment into cricket. The wealth and glamour associated with the Indian elite also made it possible for cricket to gain massive media coverage in relation to other sports. A complaint in Link put it clearly:

“Why this partiality for Test cricket, the running commentary of which is on the national hook-up. It is difficult to understand. Or is it? Occasionally, the final of a premier football or tennis or badminton final get time on AIR [All India Radio], but it is mostly not on the national hook-up. Thus a large number of sport lovers do not get the benefit”⁹².

Appadurai stresses the role of language and mass print media in India in popularizing the game amongst the masses. Radio commentary and sports magazines in vernacular languages were the key to ‘socializing the Indian mass audience into the

⁹⁰ Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p105

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Stoddart and Sandiford, *The Imperial Game*, p130

subtleties of the sport'⁹³. This was happening in an era in which the Indian national cricket team won some extraordinary victories. After a slump in the 50s and 60s, the Indian team defeated the dominant West Indies side in 1971, and went onto win the newly instituted World Cup in 1983. These victories marked the beginning of a new boldness in Indian cricket. By winning the world cup, the cricket team had proved, in the words of the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, that 'India can do it'⁹⁴.

While its impact shall be looked at more closely later, it is important to note that the power of the Indian media, in alliance with cricket, shaped Indian nationalism to a great extent in the last quarter of the 20th century. The impact of television in particular transformed cricket into a spectacle that transformed nationalism into something 'lived' and 'experienced', leading to a more jingoistic nationalistic sentiment associated with cricket. It is significant that the triumph of black and brown nations in successfully upstaging cricket from the colonial powers coincides with a period in which the impact of media, commercialization, and national passion has almost eroded the old-Victorian civilities associated with cricket⁹⁵.

The Mediatized Nation: Impact of the Media on National Culture

The sports-media complex has a direct impact on national culture. Miller believes that sports are the primary portrayal of the 'cultural nation', the nation we 'experience through feelings, policies and practices'⁹⁶. Michael Billig refers to sports and sport pages

⁹³ Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p100

⁹⁴ Quoted in Guha, *Corner of a Foreign Field*, p 347

⁹⁵ Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p107

⁹⁶ Toby Miller et al, *Globalization and Sport: Playing the World*, Sage, London, 2001, p1

in newspapers as one of the places where the nation is 'flagged'⁹⁷. He goes on to say '...sports does not confine itself to the playing field and its marked territory within the newspapers. It intrudes upon political discourse.'⁹⁸ Sports and sports pages form the space where the practice of 'banal nationalism' is carried out daily. In the current context where globalization and technological advances in communication has created a world where there is a significant degree of cultural homogeneity, sport is one of the platforms where local identities reassert themselves. Commenting on the impact of sporting nationalism, Billig writes: 'The political crisis which leads to war can be quickly created, but the willingness to sacrifice cannot be. There must be prior rehearsals and reminders so that when the situation arises, men and women know how to behave. Daily, there is a banal preparation. On the sporting pages, as men scan for the results of the favoured team, they read the deeds of other men doing battle, in the cause of the larger body, the team. And often the nation is battling for honour against foreigners. Then an unspecifiable added value of honour is at stake'⁹⁹.

Billig's use of the metaphor of war and national mobilization with regards to sport is reflected in the media reporting of India and Pakistan matches. The Indo-Pak cricket rivalry is one of the most intense in the sporting world, and one that attracts mammoth television audiences. With the telecasting of live one-day matches, and the proliferation of regional news channels, India-Pakistan cricket matches are usually received with high degrees of nationalism and jingoism on television. Cable television often promotes series involving India and Pakistan as *Badla* (revenge), *Qayamat* (Judgement Day) and *Sarfarosh* (Ready to be martyred)¹⁰⁰. One advertisement of the Indian team's sponsor

⁹⁷ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, Sage, London, 1995, p 121-122

⁹⁸ Ibid 123

⁹⁹ Ibid 124

¹⁰⁰ Sharda Ugra: *Play Together, live apart: Religion, Politics and Markets in India since 1947*, in Wagg (ed.) *Cricket and National Identity*, p84

showed bowlers hurling balls of fire, batsmen facing machine guns and fielders leaping over burning tyres to retrieve the ball¹⁰¹. The military metaphor was not lost: cricket and the army are the two things that keep India together.

Television in India, and news channels in particular, dedicate large amounts towards cricket programming. Television producers and advertisers frequently turn to cricket as the 'lowest common denominator' in an ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse national market¹⁰². The appropriation of cricket by television channels furthers the nationalist symbolism associated with cricket to the extent that cricket became the focus of India-Pakistan diplomatic relations as well.

Further, studies in cultural anthropology have revealed that cricket spectators in the sub-continent remember contests not in terms of statistics and quality of play, rather in political terms- a victory of 'us' over 'them'. Writes Satadru Sen: Cricketing episodes that did not convey any political messages left no imprint on memory... Thus club level cricket, or even inter-provincial competition of the Ranji Trophy variety fails to generate 'memorable' episodes in the same way in which the county game does, or club sports do in much of the world¹⁰³. The formation of this sort of 'national memory' related to sporting contests is a process that is possible through its portrayal as such in the media

During the stand-off between Indian and Pakistani forces in Kargil, the Indian government 'banned' bilateral matches between the two countries other than in ICC-sanctioned multinational events. The reason as given by sports Minister Uma Bharti was:

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Nalin Mehta: *Batting for the Flag: cricket, television and globalization in India*, Sport in Society, Vol.12, No.4/5, May-June 2009, p580

¹⁰³ Satadru Sen, *Memory and Forgetting in Indian Cricket*, in Wagg (ed.) *Cricket and National Identity*, p 97

‘cricket...is an extraordinary game. It has begun representing the sentiments of the people...We see cricket as not just a game but as a symbol of a nation’s sentiment’. This acknowledgement of cricket as a prime national symbol from the government and the assertion that cricket matches with Pakistan were a manifestation of ‘national pride’ led to further media frenzy whenever India and Pakistan competed in the cricket field. Although the Board of Cricket Control in India is not affiliated with the government, it decided to respect the directive and did not play matches.

The order was ultimately revoked, given the loss in revenues that it meant for both cricket boards. At the same time the troubled relations between the two countries, which involve four wars and a long standing border dispute in Kashmir, meant that the cricket team became symbols nationalist sentiment, or resentment. The only Pakistanis that most Indians would have seen were the eleven men on the cricket field, who were ‘battling’ eleven Indians in a contest of national supremacy.

At the same time, India and Pakistan cricket matches are one of the most watched, hence most revenue generating, matches in the cricketing world. They are regularly played to full houses and audiences numbering upto millions worldwide. The projection of national symbolism onto cricket, the history of strife between the two countries and the pitching of the match as ‘war’ or ‘judgement day’ by the media only increases their value. This trend is not limited to India-Pakistan matches, or to cricket. The projection of local identities on sports teams and the history of rivalry between groups has been a driving force in the globalization of sports, as we have seen in the previous chapters. The example of India and Pakistan highlights the great revenue earning potential of sporting encounters between groups that are antagonistic. Significant also is the role that the media plays in creating the atmosphere wherein the consumption of such contests peaks. The media’s strategy can also be interpreted as highlighting the differences or animosities

between two groups in order to cash in on the increased spectatorship for sports matches that such an environment can create. This is evident in the strategy of a lot of media in India that start running cricket broadcasts hours in advance of the matches, stressing through the use of metaphors, and some times literally the importance the match has for national pride. The need for sports to sustain and expand their television audiences frequently leads to changes that reinforce the games role as a signifier for manhood and nationhood.

Conclusion: Imagining Communities

The late 20th century sees the formation of new discourses relating TV, Sport and Nation¹⁰⁴. Broadcast sport, according to Miller et al, comprises a 'cultural industry'. The term itself is taken from Marxist theorist Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer who opined that popular culture is another means which the industrial elite use to control the masses. Centralized production of culture through appropriation of technological means by few corporations means that people become passive and docile in accepting the economic and cultural superiority of the few¹⁰⁵. In this sense Miller et al refer to sport as a culture industry par excellence, displaying all the above characteristics. A distinctive result of this is standardization, the desire to impress the same stamp on everything¹⁰⁶. With the organization of cricket along national lines, it has appropriated the logics of nationalism to the extent of being a benchmark of nationalist sentiment. The triumphalist mythology of the nation state that is carried by sports teams seeks to reduce internal social divisions.

¹⁰⁴ Miller et al, *Globalization and Sport*, p11

¹⁰⁵ Adorno and Horkheimer: The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception, available at <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/adorno/1944/culture-industry.htm>, last accessed 6th September 2009

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

We have looked at how social groups, such as Black West Indians, *fought* for representation within their cricket team. Conversely, black crowds in South Africa were known to jeer at the white South African team, as they did in the match against England in 1957¹⁰⁷. Both examples highlight how a sport form can be used to undermine hegemonic power relations. At the same time cricket could also be the ground where these power relations are reinforced. A good example of this would be Indian Muslims, who are routinely called upon to display their loyalty for the cricket team by the media and politicians¹⁰⁸. Muslims, in Indian nationalist discourse, often get associated with arch-rivals Pakistan. Leaders of the Hindu Right had for long called Muslims anti-national on the grounds that they support Pakistan¹⁰⁹. Muslims, nevertheless, were and are part of the team, with one of its most successful captains also being a practicing Muslim. These people however get appropriated as ‘good Muslims’¹¹⁰. In this situation, the Muslim minority population finds it hard to break away from the domination of cricketing nationalism. In March 2003 one person was killed in fighting in Ahmedabad, India after Hindus tried to stop Muslims from celebrating Pakistani victory¹¹¹. The incident took place about a year after the Gujrat riots of 2002 when about 2000 Muslims were massacred by Hindu fanatics over a period of violence lasting for 2 months, and with tacit support from the Gujrat government. This is an interesting example of how certain voices within the nation state completely dominate, refusing to tolerate any voice that is discordant in paying homage to national symbols.

¹⁰⁷ J. Nauright, *Sport, Culture and Identities in South Africa*, Leicester University Press, London, p133

¹⁰⁸ Ugra, *Play together, live apart*, p94

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Jishnu Sengupta: *Manufacturing Unison: Muslims and Hindus During the India-Pakistan Match*, in J.A Mangan/Boria Majumdar (ed.) *Sport in South Asian Society*, p236

¹¹¹ Ibid, p237

4. The Structure and Control of Cricket:

Media, Governance and Migration

Sports theorists have argued that the history of modern sports could be divided between two empires-the British and American. America's global dominance of world financial networks had a great impact on popular culture in the last quarter of the 20th century. This was most apparent in the rapid commercialization of sports and the rise of corporate sponsorships and 'mediatization' of sports. This chapter shall consider the ways in which global business practices had an impact on cricket, and how some teams and leagues were able to benefit from this, while others, more traditional centers of cricket, fell behind.

Cricket was never a profit making game. In England in the early 20th century, other sports like football and tennis paid for the upkeep of cricket grounds. County clubs ran on money donated by rich aristocrats¹¹². As we have seen earlier, in the colonies cricket was run by wealthy businessmen or the service elite. In the course of the 20th century, these were the people who took the lead in commercializing the game and making it a profitable enterprise.

The purpose of this chapter is to locate cricket within the structure of the 'mediatization' process that was transforming popular culture in the last quarter of the 20th century. It shall look at the various trends within cricket that have led to the sub

¹¹² Stoddart, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p71

Sport and Media:

Sports and the media shared a close relationship almost from the time of inception and standardization of sporting forms in the 19th century. Both have shaped and transformed each other in the course of the 20th century. Cricket leagues, for example, were organized subsequent to the idea of comparing and ranking teams coming up in the local press in Britain¹¹³. The cost benefits of broadcasting sports are high, especially on TV since the organization costs are reduced to nothing since sports matches are often organized by their respective global sporting organizations or national bodies. Television became an increasingly common household appliance through the 1970s and 80s, and the number of hours spent watching TV globally tripled between 1979 and 1991. At the same time it is inherently connected with the deregulation of media markets and the increase of capitalist investment in the media.

By the end of the 20th century, sports and media had become intrinsically tied to each other. As Chakrabarty says, ‘one does not study sport anymore; one studies the sport-media complex. One could say now, more than ever, sport is integrated into global capitalism and its symbolic web’¹¹⁴. Modern sports and media developed simultaneously and symbiotically, supplying each other with the necessary resources for development: capital, audiences, promotion and content¹¹⁵. Perhaps the most telling comment about the depth of the current relationship between sports and the media comes from the man who single handedly transformed global sport-Rupert Murdoch:

“We have the long term rights in most countries to major sporting events, and we will be doing in Asia what we intend to do elsewhere in the world, using

¹¹³ See Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, Aurum Press, London, 1999

¹¹⁴ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Introduction* in J.A Mangan/Boria Majumdar (ed.) *Sport in South Asian Society*, p7

¹¹⁵ Miller et al, *Sport and Globalization*, p62

sports as a *battering ram*¹¹⁶ and a lead offering in all our pay television operations. Sport absolutely overpowers film and everything in the entertainment genre”¹¹⁷.

Murdochs’ News Corporation is one of the biggest media conglomerates worldwide with over 132 concerns which includes major newspapers (Wall Street Journal), Magazines (TLS), publishing houses (Harper Collins), film studios (20th Century Fox) and television channels (Fox). Having secured a foothold in the US markets in the mid 1980s, News Corp went on a globally-oriented satellite television expansion spree that included Foxtel (Australia), BSkyB (UK), Vox (Germany) and StarTV (India). Murdoch was responsible for the single biggest change in broadcasting, the advent of Pay TV, and he did this with the backing of sports. After the merger with BSkyB in 1990, Sky Sports, BSkyB’s sport channel, paid lbs 304 million for the broadcast rights for the newly formed English Premier League. It then went on to acquire all major sports broadcasting rights in Britain, and following his success there, decided to follow the same policy to globalize his strategy of allying media with sport. News Corps approach to sport is instructive. It treats sport ‘not as profit centers but as cogs in the machine of global media capitalism for which it is willing to pay substantial amounts’¹¹⁸. News Corp has since bought out leagues, and attempted to buy sports teams, in order to preclude any competition in the sports broadcasting.

News Corps expansion on the basis of the sports business is reflective of the marketing potential of sports. Other networks such as ESPN pioneer the use of technology to integrate advertisements into the field of action in a sport broadcast¹¹⁹. In specific concern to us, ESPN and STAR TV joined hands to launch ESPN-Star in Asia,

¹¹⁶ Emphasis mine

¹¹⁷ Mehta, *Batting for the Flag*, p 589

¹¹⁸ David L. Andrews, *Sport in the Late Capitalist Moment*, in Trevor Slack (ed.) *The Commercialisation of Sport*, Routledge, Oxon, 2004, p16

¹¹⁹ Miller et al, *Globalization and Sport*, p 66

where it broadcasts the EPL as well as international cricket matches. In this chapter we shall consider how the sports-complex operates in relation to cricket, and how it contributes to the process of ‘decolonization’ of cricket.

Kerry Packer’s World Series Cricket:

Kerry Packer was an Australian media mogul who perhaps played the most important role in transforming world cricket. Packer, who Channel 9 networks, launched a cricketing revolution in the form of World Series Cricket a breakaway series that was innovative in its format as well as marketing strategies. The root of WSC lay in the rejection by the Australian Cricketing Board to give exclusive broadcast rights to Channel 9 for the home tests. The ACB turned down Packers higher bid for the traditional ties with Australian Broadcasting Company. This snub by the ‘old-boy’ network prompted packer to launch one of the most transformative events in cricket history.

WSC showed the power of allaying media and sports. The business of cricket got extremely lucrative following WSC. Packer got key players from West Indies, England and Australia by offering them lucrative sums of money to play in a three way international competition each summer. Hence he was able to construct his own, highly commercialized sport until he gained his goal-exclusive TV coverage of the conventional game. The legacy of the Packer series was the one-day international format, which replaced the traditional five day test matches. The look of cricket changed as well, with coloured clothing and sponsors logos replacing white flannel, use of floodlights for games that ran into the night, as well as the rise of international superstars whose popularity grew with the glamour associated with the new series.

Packer's innovation was exemplary of the interdependence between sport and the media. The result oriented game came to attract unprecedented levels of spectatorship, hence opening the doors for sponsorship in cricket. The Channel 9 network was to later become the model for Rupert Murdoch's tactic of using sports as the 'battering ram'.

Television, Government and Cricket:

In order to better understand Packer's revolution, one must see what the response of each of the cricketing nations was to it. WSC effectively challenged national sporting organizations hegemony over the game. It was able to get players, referees and the media on board to popularize the game. The spectacle that WSC produced was carried forward by other media such as newspapers and radio, which were also owned by Packer. This strategy would not have been possible without the removal of the high degrees of state control over the air-and –radio waves. The liberalization of media markets worldwide impacted the way cricket was run and consumed, as well contributed most to the shifting center of cricket.

Barry Houlihan says this about government involvement in shaping the broadcast industry of their respective countries;

“...the achievement of globalization... is substantially shaped by the extent to which the state is marginal in affecting the development of modern commercial forms of sport and consequently, that an analysis of the significance of the state in globalised sport is an essential pre-requisite for an assessment of the extent and depth of globalization”¹²⁰.

State attitudes towards broadcast liberalization had a direct impact on the reach of cricket broadcasts within different national contexts, hence directly impacting the market

¹²⁰ Barrie Houlihan, *Sports Globalisation, the State and the Problem of Governance*, in Trevor Slack (ed.) *The Commercialisation of Sport*, p57

sizes in different countries. Broadcasting law is an important factor through which governments shape markets and determine the profitability of a media product.

In this section we shall examine how broadcasting laws in various countries have affected cricket development there, and vice versa. Here we shall take into consideration India and Britain into our analysis. Manageability of data provides the reason for choosing these particular cases, as does the contrast of media practices in the traditional and newer centers of cricket.

Indian television and cricket broadcasting:

Cricket played a major role in revolutionizing Indian broadcasting, changing its legal and economic dimensions. The Indian telegraph act of 1885 gave the state monopoly over the maintaining, working as well as the right to grant licenses ‘for any apparatus for the purpose of affording means of telegraphic communication’¹²¹. This monopoly was challenged in court over a dispute over cricket broadcasting. The first case was in May 1993 when the CAB sold the telecast right for the five-nation Hero Cup to Trans World International (TWI), an arm of U.S based International Management Group (IMG). The state television company, Doordarshan, which had failed to match the bid refused to allow the broadcaster to uplink from Indian soil, claiming exclusive rights to do so and calling the CAB ‘anti-national’. Customs officials in Mumbai confiscated TWI’s broadcast equipment¹²², leading the CAB to appeal to the Supreme Court of India. In an important ruling on 15th November 1993, the court overruled the government and allowed TWI to generate its own broadcast. This however was limited to the Hero Cup. Doordarshan and the BCCI locked horns again in 1994, when Doordarshan blocked the

¹²¹ The Indian telegraph Act, Act XIII of 1885. Amended in 1957, section 7 of act 47 re-defining the term ‘telegraph’.

¹²² Mehta, *Batting for the Flag*, p 590

broadcast of international cricket matches on ESPN, which had won 5 years exclusive broadcast rights as part of a \$30 million contract. Not all government departments were against the deal though, such as the government owned VSNL company was forced to return the advance given to it by ESPN. An official was quoted as saying: 'We do not need to put money for infrastructure because we already possess all the facilities, but the Ministry of I&B would not let us do anything, even if it involves earning thousands of dollars in the country in foreign exchange'¹²³.

Following another appeal by the BCCI in court, the court ruled in February 1995 that airwaves cannot be a state monopoly as they constitute a public property¹²⁴. It deemed the Indian Telegraphs Act of 1885 was 'intended for an altogether different purpose' and ordered the government to take immediate steps to establish an autonomous public authority to control and regulate the use of airwaves¹²⁵. The court made it clear that the airwaves were meant to be utilized to advance the fundamental right of free speech, something difficult to achieve under a monopoly¹²⁶. This had great impact on the broadcast scenario in India, leading to the proliferation of regional channels driving the media boom today.

With the proliferation of satellite channels and pay-tv, a new broadcasting regulation related to cricket came about that reinforced the importance of cricket in the Indian television market, yet reversed some of the liberal tendencies of the other regulations. Following the Supreme Court Order, the government failed to set up a regulatory body for airwaves, and continued to depend on draft legislation from the

¹²³ Ibid, p591

¹²⁴ Supreme Court Case 161 before justices P.B. Sawant, S. Mohan and B.P. Jeevan Reddy, Civil Appeals Nos. 1429-30 of 1995, quoted in Mehta, *Batting for the Flag*

¹²⁵ Ibid

¹²⁶ N. Mehta, *Batting for the Flag*, p 591

Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (I&B), most of which were designed to assert control. In 2005 the ministry enforced new down-linking guidelines that made it mandatory for sports channels to share events of 'national and international importance' in the larger 'public interest'¹²⁷. Implicit was the desire to sell advertising spots on national television during the sports broadcasts. This then challenged the free market principles as well as the advertising revenues of the broadcasters. Through 2006 and 2007, the judiciary restrained the central government from interfering with the broadcaster's rights, refusing to allow them to carry advertisements. The issue broke out into parliamentary debate when Nimbus sports bought rights to broadcast an important one-day international series in India. The channel was not available throughout the country. Counting on the anger of the average cricket fan, the government promulgated a bill that turned its mandatory fee-sharing guidelines into a law. The Sports Broadcasting Signals (Mandatory Sharing with Prasar Bharti) Bill was passed by the Parliament on 9 March, stipulating a 75:25 revenue split between the private broadcaster and Doordarshan. The terms of the debate are interesting, the primary focus being cricket although the bill clearly went beyond cricket broadcasts. One after another MPs asserted the 'national' importance of cricket as well as its 'unifying power'. One way or the other, this bill ensures that the state television company keeps benefiting from high rates of revenue that are generated through cricket matches due to state patronage. On the other hand it also ensured the continued presence of Indian cricket on free-to-air TV, enabling the continued penetration of cricket into Indian markets, and along with it that of multinational consumer products.

British and Australian laws:

¹²⁷ Ministry of I&B, Policy Guidelines for Downlinking of television channels, available at http://www.indiantelevision.com/Guestbook/headlines/y2k6/may/policy_guidelines.htm, quoted in Mehta, *Batting for the Flag*

Similar to India, Australia also enacted an Anti-Siphoning act in 1992 that made sure that all cricket events would be simultaneously broadcast on free-to-air state television¹²⁸. In fact, Packer's cricket revolution too was heavily subsidized by the state which offered incentives for companies to provide local programming content in the 1960s and 70s. Both India and Australia were, in effect, beneficiaries of huge government subsidies which were borne by the private broadcasters. The provision of cricket on free-to-air TV made it possible for them to expand the game into the deepest reaches of the markets. This is, however, not the case with England and the West Indies.

The rise of television in Britain has in-fact worked contrary to the interest of British cricket. Firstly, football and motor-racing has come to be more important on TV than cricket, due to the sports' better marketing. Secondly, the British cricket authorities have actively worked towards taking the game off free-to-air TV, hence reducing its availability to most British households. Cricket was taken off the A-list of events, events that are supposed to be available free to air in 1998. This was presumably an attempt by the ECB to make more money off broadcasting rights. Nevertheless, this meant that there was a terrible decline in the sport viewership and hence the market size of the sport. It also reinforced class divides between those that could afford the pay-television and those that couldn't.

This demonstrates that globalised sport is mediated to a large extent by national laws. Just like European Football was affected by EU rulings on transfer and broadcasts, cricket's globalizing thrust has also been profoundly affected by the nature of government response. In the case of cricket, government interference has not meant weaker markets, but has expanded the market base of cricket, catching a wider demographic and hence a

¹²⁸ Section 115 of the Broadcast Service Act (BCA) 1992

larger market for promoters and advertisers. Significant here is that government justification of its involvement has often extended beyond the purely commercial sphere, to addressing needs of the 'nation' and 'society'. The state is hence a mediator in the process of globalizing sports, setting the terms and conditions under which it crosses boundaries.

Migration and Fandom:

The emergence of global television networks and broadcasting tapped into another major market, the diaspora. Economic migration is one of the salient features of the late 20th century, with large numbers of skilled and highly skilled migrant workers, mostly from the Asian countries, making their way to more lucrative employment in major commercial and financial centers. The impact of this process on cricket was first felt in the 1980s when a middle-eastern billionaire Shaikh Abdul Rehman Bukhatir started promoting the game in the U.A.E, a place with no local cricketing team or fan-base. It was the enormous Indian and Pakistani diaspora communities in the Persian Gulf that, with heavy nationalist overtones, became consumers of cricket¹²⁹. Bukhatir invested huge sums of money into cricket, offering huge sums for teams to play in Sharjah. The frequency of matches grew in the late 1980s and the 1990s, with Sharjah hosting ODIs. This was an important step towards turning cricket into a television spectacle. The presence of celebrities in the form of famous Bollywood stars, as well as South Asian mafia dons, glamorized Sharjah cricket. The frequency of the competitions made it a regular source of profitable content for TV. Based on the success of his Sharjah competition, Bukhatir also launched TEN Sports in 2002. TEN Sports is currently the

¹²⁹ Amit Gupta, *The Globalization of Cricket: The rise of the Non-West*, International Journal of the History of Sport, Volume 21, Issue 2, March 2004, p265

leading broadcast channel in South Asia, enjoying over a 50% share of sports viewership in South Asia.

Large groups of the South Asian diaspora in western countries also affected the way cricket was consumed there. The continued support of the West Indian, Indian and Pakistani diaspora for their cricket sides led to a British Conservative Minister Norman Tebbit to contemplate devising a cricket test to test loyalties of immigrants. Tebbit was reported to have said “large proportion of Britain's Asian population fail to pass the cricket test. Which side do they cheer for? It's an interesting test. Are you still harking back to where you came from or where you are?”¹³⁰. In questioning the loyalties of the immigrants, Tebbit inadvertently also points towards another factor of British immigration-the failure of the state to properly integrate migrants into national culture and institutions. Immigrants’ continued support for the teams of the nations of their origin is also a reflection of their exclusion from national culture. Michael Roberts, in a sociological examination of migrant culture in Britain, speculates that ‘expressing sentimental respect for the homeland and one’s totemic practices was (and is) a means of proclaiming selfhood and creating a respect of the self’¹³¹. Reports on the failure of cricket leagues in Britain to attract local talent blame the exclusionist attitudes of these clubs, and their tendency to support a certain class base. This has led to a situation where the Pakistani Cricket Board has decided to hold matches in Britain, with teams refusing to play in Pakistan due to security concerns, citing the heavy local support base as reason for profit.

¹³⁰ *Tebbit's Loyalty Test is Dead*, New Statesman, 3rd July, 2006
<http://www.newstatesman.com/200607030029>, last accessed 9th September, 2009

¹³¹ Michael Roberts, *Cricketing fervour and Islamic fervour: Marginalization of the Diaspora*, in J.A Mangan/Boria Majumdar (ed.) *Sport in South Asian Society*, p316

The presence of the international diaspora that supports their national sides also leads to more viewership of matches of Indian and Pakistani teams worldwide. This means better revenues for the cricket boards of these countries as well as increasing their bargaining power when it comes to negotiating international broadcasting contracts. Thus, as the location of the tournaments, choices of venues and playing times becomes geared to also fit the international diaspora, they continue to exercise influence into the way cricket is run.

The ICC: Imperial Council to Asian Bloc

The rising influence of the former-colonies radically transformed the cricket's organizing body, the International Cricket Council. From the beginning the ICC was laden with colonial condescension. It began as the Imperial Cricket Council in 1909 with Australia, England and South Africa as members. Its presidency automatically went to the President of the Marylebone Cricket Club, an elitist private-members club situated in the famous Lords Cricket Ground in London. Within the organization Australia and England enjoyed the status of 'Founding Members' without whose consent any decision of the ICC would not be able to go through, a status that they enjoyed as late as 1993.

The privileges enjoyed by the Western powers are a reflection of their unwillingness to cede their dominance over the game. The controlling power of global sporting organizations has been highlighted in a recent work by John Foster and Nigel Pope¹³². Foster and Pope recognize a contradiction in the structure of global sporting organizations. Most of these organizations, including the ICC, began out as non-profit groups devoted to a certain sport. However, with the rise of commercialization of sports,

¹³² See John Foster and Nigel Pope: *The Political Economy of Global Sporting Organisations*, Routledge, London, 2007

most of these organizations find it difficult to reconcile their original non-profit stature with their ability to generate large amounts of revenue¹³³. This contradiction is all too apparent in the ICC. The reluctance of the ICC to take part in the organization of cricket tours, for example, meant that certain nations would not have an opportunity to play cricket for prolonged periods, as opposed to nations such as Australia and England who would play more regularly. When the World Cup was instituted in 1975, the competitions were held in England for the first three editions of the tournament.

The rise of the non-west in cricket is directly related to the role that South Asian states, led by India played in the ICC. This too was guided substantially by anti-colonial sentiment. N.K.P Salve, an Indian cricket administrator, recounts how he was denied extra tickets to the finals of the MCC, which led him to organize a revolt of the non-Western nations to bring the cricket world cup to India in 1987. The number of non-western nations in the ICC increased following the admission of Associate members such as Fiji and Ceylon in 1964. The Associate Members grew to about 8 by 1987, when Salve, together with the West Indian and Pakistani cricket boards shifted the World Cup to the subcontinent. The co-operation between the Indian and Pakistani boards, at a time when the two countries were involved in a military standoff, is also reflective of the desire to get cricket out of English hands.

Subsequently, a series of changes made the 'Asian Bloc' even more powerful within the ICC. Another coup was staged with the help of the Associate members when the Subcontinent one again staged the World Cup in 1996, leading to allegations of bribing of Associate members by sections of the British press¹³⁴. The same year the ICC decided

¹³³ Ibid p5

¹³⁴ Mike Marqusee, *Who's Afraid of the Asian Bloc?*, Mikemarquese.com, <http://www.mikemarquese.com/?p=218>, last accessed 6th September, 2009

to have a rolling post of Chairman, with each country getting a three year tenure. Jagmohan Dalmia, an Indian industrialist and politician who was also the head of the Indian national cricket body-the BCCI, was elected for a three year term. His chairmanship is associated with major transformations within the cricketing world. Dalmiya imposed a schedule where each country was supposed to tour the other at regular intervals. He also increased his political influence by increasing the membership of the Associate countries manifold. Dalmia insisted that money be spent on cricket in countries where it was not widely played. This also meant that he got significant backing from the newly inducted countries who were in a way beholden to him¹³⁵.

The rise of the Asian bloc within the ICC is the result of two simultaneous processes. The recognition by Asian entrepreneurs of the great financial potential of cricket, and taking the lead in making the game more commercialized, by inviting investment from corporate houses and increasing markets by inducting new members. At the same time there is a heavy anti-colonial line in commercializing cricket. This is evident in the following statement by Jagmohan Dalmia, given to an interview panel comprising of academics regarding the changes in the ICC:

“At that time we [India and Pakistan] almost never received our due share...They[the ICC] were a corrupt kind of setup...basically it was England and Australia. India and Pakistan were just two members. South Africa was in exile at the time. It was more a colony or more a small kind of club and we felt it was time to change all that”¹³⁶.

Conclusion

Miller et al point out, ‘without the media’s capacity to carry sports signs and myths to large and diverse audiences across the globe, sport would be a relatively minor and

¹³⁵ N. Mehta, Jon Gemmel and Dominic Malcolm: ‘*Bombay Sport Exchange*’: cricket, globalization and the future, in *Sport in Society*, V12, no.4/5, May-June 2009, p700

¹³⁶ Ibid

increasingly anachronistic folk pursuit'¹³⁷. Satellite television coverage and exposure in the print media is central to the economy of sports. The sport-media marriage is beneficial to both, driving up ratings for media companies and at the same time increasing sponsorships for sports. We have also seen in this chapter how both have impacted on the development of each other. Cricket is becoming increasingly telegenic, with the adoption of new rules, formats and clothing. In this transformation of sports the former colonies are taking the first step, whereas the British seem to be stuck in a 'wilful nostalgia'. Countries like India and Australia have been at the forefront of the globalizing thrust of cricket, making the game more media friendly and hence more bankable. In the case of India, we saw that cricket was central to the changing landscape of Indian television and making of India into the third largest media market in the world by the end of the 1990s.

The identification of the diaspora with their national sporting teams, as well as the increased spectatorship of contests where there is an element of conflict involved are ways shows how the growth of cricket and its shifting power-center was inherently connected with new formulations of identity and nationhood in the 20th century. South Asian cricket grew stronger financially worldwide with the identification of the diaspora with their national teams. At the same time, the media's playing up of the conflict between India and Pakistan and the regular portrayal of these cricket matches as tests of nationhood and manhood increased the spectatorship of the sport, also benefiting the rise of the non-west in cricket.

Cricket broadcasting in the last decade or so has been a fast evolving field. However, there is one significant trend that is clear- the rise of local media that challenge

¹³⁷ Miller et al , *Globalization and Sport*, p68

global sports broadcasting companies. Newer corporate players like Ten Sports (based in UAE) and Nimbus (based in India) now hold most of the telecast rights of Indian cricket. This means heavy losses for ESPN-Star Sports which depends on Indian cricket for about 90% of its telecast revenues. Interestingly, ESPN-Star has more than once accused the BCCI of favoritism and nepotism in awarding contracts¹³⁸. Nevertheless, the emergence of one of the biggest television markets worldwide in India, and the proliferation of local media networks is directly responsible for the shift in the economic power of cricket from the west to the east.

Finally, from the above examples it is also clear that globalization and the media have produced new forms of the nation based on contests between entities that supposed to have national identities which are portrayed upon them by the media-sports complex. The media-sports complex is significant in both constructing and reinforcing forms of identification that were either taken for granted, or were hitherto disappearing. 'We are seeing a televisualization of sport and a sportification of television'¹³⁹.

¹³⁸ Not Just Cricket: ESPN-Star Sports, Indian Express, 7th September, 2004, available at <http://www.indianexpress.com/oldStory/54573/>, last accessed 6th September, 2009

¹³⁹ Miller et al, *Globalization and Sport*, p 93

5. Conclusions

...from a Global Studies Perspective:

Nelson Mandela comments on the role of sports:

“Sport is probably the most effective means of communication in the modern world, bypassing both verbal and written communication and reaching directly to billions of people worldwide. There is no doubt that sport is a viable and legitimate way of building friendships amongst nations”¹⁴⁰.

How does this comment, as well as the extract from the UN report in the *Introduction* to this thesis, stand in the light of the previous chapters? Both Mandela and the UN report seem to hail homogenizing aspect of sport. However, as we have seen in the previous chapters, this homogenizing aspect of sport is counterbalanced by its evocation of parochial identities. Cricket was adopted best in societies where it came to be a signifier of local identities. Further, cricket’s appropriations as an anti-imperial symbol by the colonies shows us how a homogenizing cultural form can be subverted to highlight their own causes by the receivers. Theoretically, this has implications that suggest that *globalizing* processes can coexist with *nationalizing* ones, sometimes even abetting them. Miller et al ask us to consider: “where is the cultural nation, the nation that we experience through feelings, policies and practices?”¹⁴¹ They answer saying that the ‘cultural nation’ often represents itself in the discursive practices of televised sports. Various theorists on globalization have recently repeatedly commented on the demise of the nation-state. The rise of financial capitalism, and the attendant homogenization of culture with the coming of transnational media corporations has been repeatedly referred to as diminishing the role of the nation in the day to day life of the people. However, on

¹⁴⁰ Maguire, *Power and Global Sports*, Introduction, p1

¹⁴¹ Miller et al, *Globalization and Sport*, p1

the basis of evidence in the previous chapters we could say that the nation as a form of organization and stimulation has not lost its relevance. The globalizing processes-the rise of transnational media corporation, changing patterns of control, migration and the rise of a transnational diaspora- all contribute to reifying the nation in the cricket field. This is also evident in the strategy of transnational corporations to appeal to nationalism to promote the sport, and even consumer brands such as Pepsi Cola, which uses the Indian cricket team as its brand ambassadors, and even launched a *blue* Pepsi, to support '*Team India*' who wear blue kits on the field.

This is significant, as Michael Silk points out, since this means that 'under the logics of transnational capitalism the manner in which discourses of belonging are represented has become exteriorized through, and internalized within the promotional strategies of transnational corporations'¹⁴². This itself calls into question our use of the terms 'local' and 'global'. It is clear from the role of transnational corporations, particularly media, in constructing local and national identities, that the seeming polarities of 'local' and 'global' have a complementary and interpenetrative nature. One is complicit in the creation and incorporation of the other and vice versa¹⁴³.

The reification of the nation state by the sport-media complex also elucidates the deep divisions and fissures on the national field. The 'performative' aspect of modern sport means that divisions beyond the boundary are always carried on into the field of play and spectatorship. We have seen in the previous chapters how national minority groups struggle with the imposition of the nation on them through the sports-media complex: be they Muslims in India, Hindus in Bangladesh or Aborigines in Australia. In

¹⁴² Michael Silk, *Televised sport in a Global Consumer Age*, in Trevor slack (ed) *The Commercialisation of Sport*, p243

¹⁴³ See Giulianotti and Robertson, *Globalization and Sport*, Sage, London, 2009

some societies cricket helps in overcoming this bias, such as the rise of an untouchable cricketer in pre-independence India, while in others it helps establish the dominance of certain groups such as the white Afrikaners in South Africa.

We have seen, in the previous chapters, what factors accounted for the successful diffusion and subsequent commercialization of cricket. The unifying element in these processes was the ability of cricket to serve as a signifier of conflict. We have noted in the introduction the view of prominent social theorists who view the civilization of sport and reducing the conflict element from it as essential in the modernization of sport. In the post-colonial, post-modern context, where televised sports are one of the most prominent representations of the cultural nation, conflict is one of the most important aspects in the promotion and success of team sports.

Miller et al point out that sport fully expresses the current global dilemma- between global commerce and parochial ethnicity¹⁴⁴. As we have seen with cricket, intense regional, ethnic and national rivalries are extremely powerful within sports. Further, these play an important role not only in the successful diffusion of cricket but are also often used as marketing tools to attract greater audiences¹⁴⁵. The example, in the previous chapter, of Indian media's promotion of Indian and Pakistani cricket matches is testimony to the last point.

National mythmaking and reification is one of the central roles that global sports play in the contemporary world. The broader implications of this process is, as Maguire points out, one of 'diminishing contrasts between cultures but also the increasing variety

¹⁴⁴ Miller et al, *Globalization and Sport*, p14. Benjamin Barber is mentioned as the provenance of the term 'between global commerce and parochial ethnicity'

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

of cultures that...has fostered forms of cosmopolitan consciousness'¹⁴⁶. The increasing trade, migration, changes in technology has led to an increasing awareness of other cultures. Additionally, the standardization in the control of cultural forms such as music and sport in the late capitalistic moment with the rise of the transnational media has also contributed to a relative homogenization of culture. The similarity of global culture, however, does not mean the diminishing of parochial identities. As we have seen in the case of cricket, an essentially western cultural form is used to assert ethnic and national identities. This, once again, indicates that globalization processes do not necessarily mean that the relevance of local identities and practices disappear. In the face of homogenization and standardization, as well as transnational control, of cultural forms, local identities reassert themselves within this framework by adding symbolism to these forms. In this they are assisted by the marketing strategies of transnational corporations, which recognize the commercial potential of such symbolism, and consciously promote such identification.

Grappling with Modernity?

The attempts by the English to infuse cricket with the colonialist image was challenged by the ability of the indigenous people to subvert this identification and develop the game according to their own interests. At the same time it is difficult to put a finger on *how exactly* this came about. As Appadurai points out in response to his own question-why cricket is a national passion in India?-that understanding how cricket links 'gender, nation, fantasy and bodily excitement'¹⁴⁷ is not an adequate explanation to *why cricket?* The answer, he points out, lies in the fact that cricket gave different groups the opportunity to experiment with the 'means of modernity'¹⁴⁸. This he clarifies elsewhere

¹⁴⁶ Maguire, *Global Sports*, p211-212

¹⁴⁷ Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p111

¹⁴⁸ Ibid 113

does not mean the 'bottomless hunger in the Asian world for things western'¹⁴⁹. Instead, it is the appropriation by indigenous people of various social, cultural, economic and organizational traits that afford them the prospect of a better association with 'modernity'. It is worthwhile here to quote at length from Appadurai by way of further explanation:

"To those groups who control the state, particularly through their control of television, it offers the sense of being able to manipulate national sentiment. To the technocrats, publicists, journalists and publishers who directly control the media, it offers the sense of skill in handling techniques of televising sport spectacles, of manipulating private sector advertising, of controlling public attention, in general, of mastering the media themselves. To the private sector, cricket affords a means of linking leisure, stardom and nationalism, thus providing mastery over the skills of merchandising and promotion. To the viewing public cricket affords the sense of cultural literacy in a world sport (associated with the still-not-erased technological superiority of the West) and the more diffuse pleasure of association with glamour cosmopolitanism and national competitiveness. To the upper middle class it affords the privatized pleasures of bringing stardom and nationalist sentiment within the safe and sanitized environments of their living room. To working class and lumpen youth, it offers the sense of belonging, potential violence, and bodily excitement that characterizes football violence in England. To rural viewers, and listeners, cricket (appropriately vernacularized) gives a sense of control over the lives of stars, the fate of nations and the electricity of cities"¹⁵⁰.

Appadurai adequately demonstrates here how the colonized people's grappling with modernity leads to the subversion of hegemonic power relationships in the world. The appropriation of 'civilized' or 'modern' conduct by the indigenous people has ultimately led to the decrease in the power of the west. The rise of Indian cricket could hence be explained as a result of India's own experiment with modernity. Its appropriation and subsequent domination of cricket shows that receivers of cultural flows are empowered by them to challenge their inferior status.

Returning to our substantive examination of the cricket and globalization, we shall now look at the Indian Premier League, the world's richest cricket tournament, and then,

¹⁴⁹ Ibid p29

¹⁵⁰ Ibid 112

by way of conclusion, go on to see what implications are for global sports in the light of these processes.

The Indian Premier League

One of the biggest symbols of the transformations in world cricket has been the Indian Premier League (IPL). When it was launched in 2008, the IPL earned around \$1bn in broadcasting revenues. The finals of the event captured around 9.5% of the Indian television market, the third largest in the world, with soaps and reality shows chalking upto 5%¹⁵¹. Consisting of ‘franchises’ based in eight Indian cities and owned by Bollywood superstars and corporate moguls, the IPL attracts talent from all the major cricket playing nations, with some players forsaking spots in their national sides to participate in it¹⁵². It has also invited the scorn of the puritans. The format for the IPL games is an innovative faster and shorter format of cricket. As opposed to the five-day matches that are the preference of the puritans, the IPL matches were lasted 3 hours, ideal for prime-time TV.

The IPL is having a great impact on the organization of cricket. The games in the first edition of the tournament ran at the end of the Indian season. This overlapped with the English season, leading to the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB) banning a number of players from playing in the IPL. The English players protested as they were missing out on the lucrative cash rewards that come from participating in the richest cricket tournament in the world. Subsequently, cricketers from all parts of the globe have been pressuring their respective boards to consider an ‘IPL window’ in which they would

¹⁵¹ *Cricket Lovely Cricket*, in The Economist Special Report on The Business of Sport, August 2nd, 2008 p11

¹⁵² Ibid

be free from engagements with their national teams in order to take part in the IPL¹⁵³. The impact of the IPL could be judged by this transformation alone. In the past, players from across the globe would take time off from their careers in order to play in the English county season, which apart from offering substantial rewards, also was considered to be valuable for young talent to gain ‘exposure’ and test their mettle in the hallowed cricket grounds of the *metropolis*. With the rising financial power of the colonies, based on the factors listed in the previous chapter, this trend has almost come to an end. English counties are too cash strapped to hire foreign talent. The cricket *labour* migration is now reversed with the increasing entrepreneurship associated with the sport in the colonies.

This rise of the IPL is perhaps the most prominent example of the shift in the global sporting economy from the western to the emerging nations. One of the biggest contributing factors in this shift in cricket was that Indian entrepreneurs were willing to adapt innovations in the game to make it more in tune with international television market. Interestingly, the shortened *Twenty20* format used in the IPL was pioneered in England to regenerate interest in county cricket. However, due to opposition from cricket puritans who deemed it ‘hit and giggle’ cricket, it never really found favour with the ECB¹⁵⁴. This again goes to show how much the cultural value attached to the game still resonates in its global political economy, albeit now to the benefit of the ex-colonies.

The Future of Global Sports

What conclusions could be drawn about the future of global sports from the changes affecting cricket over the 20th century? Judging by the example of the IPL, one

¹⁵³ The latest amongst which is Australia’s star batsman Matthew Hayden, See <http://www.cricinfo.com/australia/content/story/421026.html>, last accessed 6th September, 2009

¹⁵⁴ *Cricket Lovely Cricket*, The Economist: A Special Report on the Business of Sport, p11

may conclude that the shift in power and control in cricket may also be replicated in other sports. There are two main factors that affected this transformation within cricket, and which may just as well apply to other sports forms.

The first amongst these is the association of nationalist or regional identities with sporting teams. As we have seen in the case of cricket, the reification of global sport for the nationalist cause in the lesser developed countries leads to the subsidization of sports by national governments. Broadcast laws and tax breaks in favour of certain sports increases their profitability, attracting international capital as well as talent, making local sporting bodies stronger.

The second is migration and player mobility. We have seen in the previous chapter how the creation of a trans-national diaspora that supports its *home* team beyond borders has affected the political economy of cricket. This is true of other sports as well. Diaspora communities across the world show that identification with the *home* national side in any sport remains strong. At the same time, games involving national sides in countries in Asia draw far bigger audiences than elsewhere in the world¹⁵⁵, giving the national sport governing bodies the possibilities of transforming this fan-base into a market for local league games, exactly what the BCCI has done with the IPL. The IPL also manages to attract viewership from the huge Indian diaspora. This again is a process that shall sooner or later spread to all global sports, as the number of Asian diaspora, for example, watching football games by local sides would outnumber their European counterparts¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵⁵ *Local heroes*, in *The Economist: A Special report on the Business of Sport*, p10

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*

On the flip side, labour migration within global sports also shows possibilities where non-western states can profit. The last decade of the 20th century has seen an increase in the migration of athletes from lesser-developed countries, where they have lesser opportunities in terms of selling their talent, to bigger sports markets in the west. This is most evident in non-national leagues such as the EPL, NBA or Major League Baseball (MLB). European football clubs, for example, have a conscious strategy of hiring cheaper labour from the African countries. Similarly, baseball clubs in MLB are mostly made of Latino players. This leads to the creation of sports markets in the home countries of these players where people are interested in watching a local superstar. This not only expands the sport market in these countries, on the basis of which again local leagues could flourish, but also means raises the possibility of buy-outs of teams playing in western leagues by local businesses intending to capitalize on the growing sport market.

Cricket serves as an early example of a game that has been successfully ‘decolonized’ and appropriated by the non-western nations to the extent that they now control its power structures. This pattern may be replicated in other sports as transnational cultural flows have made sports more accessible in non-western countries as well. This of course is not a self evident process, and requires a high degree of entrepreneurship from local sport bodies to realize the potential. However, global processes have ensured that in the sports business developed countries no longer call all the shots¹⁵⁷. With a little more organization, better playing facilities and increase in standards, Chinese basketball, Mexican baseball or South East Asian football would become bigger than their western counterparts.

¹⁵⁷ *Local Heroes*, The Economist, p11

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